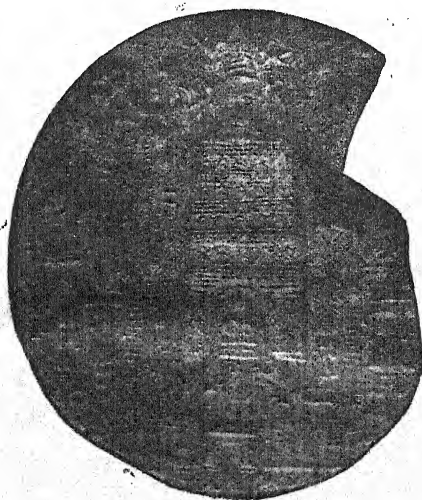


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JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY

March 1946

CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. Annual Review of the Bihar Research Society, 1945-46. <i>By the Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.</i>	1
II. India's Cultural Contacts. <i>By Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.).</i>	7
III. Indian Culture in Central Asia. <i>By Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. es lettres, Santiniketan.</i>	9
IV. Śuryavarṃsi Kings of Orissa Purushottamadeva. <i>By G. Ramadas, B. A., Jeypore.</i>	21
V. Kāpilendra Gajapati. <i>By P. Mukherjee, M. A., Patna State.</i> ..	52
VI. Bihar in the Time of Aurangzeb. <i>By Khan Sahib S. H. Askari, M. A., B. L., Patna College</i>	56
VII. The Later Mauryas and the Fall of the Empire. <i>By Budha Prahash, M. A., Meerut.</i>	73
VIII. Labour in Early Nineteenth Century, Bihar. <i>By Hari Ranjan Ghosal, M. A., B. L., G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur.</i> ..	98

Notes of the Quarter.

Annual Report of the Bihar Research Society, 1945-46. ..	106
Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar Research Society held on 23-3-1946.	109
Proceedings of the Meeting of the Council of the Bihar Research Society held on 3-2-1946.	111

Appendix

Index to Paryāyamuktāvali.	55-72
----------------------------------	-------

JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY

June 1946

CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. Bharata's Nāṭya-Sāstra, Chapter II, Maṇḍapavidhāna, <i>By Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.)</i>	113
II. Some Aspects of Rāmanuja's Philosophy on the Basis of His Commentary on the Bhagavadgītā, <i>By Dr. Iswara Datta, Ph. D., Patna College:</i>	135
III. Bihar in the Time of Aurangzeb, <i>By S. H. Askari, M. A., B. L., Patna College.</i>	155
IV. Was Anantadevi Mother of Skandagupta ? <i>By Tarapada Bhattacharya, M. A. B., N. College, Patna.</i>	182
V. Santal Folk Songs, <i>By Suniti Kumar Sinha, M. A.</i>	184

Reviews and Notices of Books.

1. <i>The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India</i> , By A. B. M. Habibullah, M. A., Ph. D. (London), F. L. A., Department of Islamic History and Culture, Calcutta University. Published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore. Pp. 345, xi, 1945. Price Rs. 15. <i>By Prof. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, M. A., Patna College, Patna.</i>	189
2. The Vaiṣṇavopanisads translated into English by Śrī T. R. Srinivāsa Ayyangar, B. A., L. T. and edited by G. Srinivāsa Murti; Pp. xxi 498; published by the Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras, 1945; Price Rs. 10 (cloth).	191
3. Kenopanishad-Bhāṣhya by Śrī Rāṅgaramanuja, critically edited with English Introduction, translation and notes, by Dr. K. C. Varadachari, M. A., Ph. D. and D. T. Tatacharya, Shiromani, M. O. L., (Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Series). Tirupati, Madras; (Pp. x 22 18, Price Rs. 2); 1945.	197

4. *Suvarna-saptati-Sāstra, Sāṅkhya-Kārikā-Saptati of Isvara Kṛṣṇa*, with a commentary-Reconstructed into Sanskrit from the Chinese Translation of Pramārtha and edited with English notes, Introduction and Appendices by N. Aiyaswami Sastri, Reader in Sanskrit, Sri Venkateshwara Oriental Institute, Tirupati (Member, Sino Indian Cultural Society, India), with a Foreword by Prof. P. P. Subrahmanya Sastri, B. A. (Oxon.), M. A. (Madras). Pp. Xlvi + 112; published by Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanam Press, Tirupati, 1944; Price Rs. 6.

By Prof. Dhirendra Mohan Datta, M. A., Ph. D., P. R. S., Patna College, Patna.

5. INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS: Vol. I (1757—1858), Vol. II (1858—1945). Edited by Anil Chandra Banerjee, M. A., P. R. S., Lecturer, Calcutta University. Published by A. Mukherjee & Co. 2, College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 7 and Rs. 12 respectively.

(By Dr. Kali Kinkar Dutta, M. A., Ph. D., P. R. S. ..)

Appendix.

Index to *Paryāyamuktāvalī*, By *Dr. Tarapada Chowdhuri*,
M. A., Ph. D.

JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY

September—December 1946

CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. Extracts from Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India, By Messrs. Brij Narain and Sri Ram Sharma.	197
II. Price Changes and Price Control in India during the Last Two Hundred Years. By Dr. H. R. Ghosal, M.A., B.L., D. Litt, G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur	297
III. Purushottama Gajapati, By P. Mukherjee, M.A., Rajendra College, Bolangir, Patna State	308
IV. Kaliyugarājavṛttānta and Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa. By D. R. Mankad, Sanskrit Association, Karachi	319
V. Research Notes and Queries. The Pāṇḍavas, By Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon.), Patna	328
VI. Swiss Companies and Captain Polier in the Military Service of the East India Company, By Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph. D., P. R. S., Patna College	331

Reviews and Notices of Books

1. Folk-Songs of Chattisgarh by Verrier Elwin (O. U. P., 1946). Price Rs. 15; pp. i-lxi 466. By Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon.), Patna	334
2. The Warlis by K. J. Save, Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay, 1945, By S. S. Sarkar, Calcutta	340
3. The Pardhans by Shamrao Hivale, published for Man in India by Oxford University Press, Bombay. 1946; pp. I-XVI 230, XII plates, By S. S. Sarkar. Calcutta	342
4. Candralekhā of Rudradāsa. Edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, M. A., D. Litt. Bharatiya Vidya Series: No. 6. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1945. Price Rs. 6 Pp. 66,95. By Dr. T. P. Chowdhuri, M. A., Ph. D.	344

5. *Rasaratnapradīpikā* of Allarāja. Edited by R. N. Dandekar, M. A., Ph. D. *Bharatiya Vidyā Series*: No. 8. *Bharatiya Vidyā Bhavan*, Bombay. 1945. Price Rs. 2-12-0 Pp. 24,58. *By Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury, M. A., Ph. D.* .. 344
6. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Library, Mysore. By H. R. Rangaswami Iyengar, M. A., and Vidvan T. T. Srinivasagopalachar. Vol. II—*Dharmaśāstra (Smṛtis)*, Mysore: 1944. Price Rs. 1-4-0. Pp. IX, 216. *By Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury, M. A., Ph. D.* .. 345
7. The *Tantrasamuccaya* of Nārāyaṇa, with the commentaries *Vimarśiṇī* of Śāṅkara and *Vivaraṇa* of Nārāyaṇasīśya. Part I. Edited by V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, M.A., University of Travancore: Travancore Sanskrit Series No. 151. Trivandrum: 1945. Price Rs 3. Pp. V, I, XXV, 35, 11, 308, 8, 22, 6, 5, 28, 2. *By Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury, M. A., Ph. D.* .. 345

Notes of the Quarter

- Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar Research Society held on the 28th July, 1946 .. 347
- Annual Accounts for the year 1945-46 .. 352

Appendix

- Index to *Paryāyamuktāvalī*. *By Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury, M. A., Ph. D.* .. 97—134

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XXXII]

1946

[PART I

ANNUAL REVIEW OF THE BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY, 1945-46.

By THE HON'BLE THE CHIEF JUSTICE SIR SAIYID
FAZAL ALI, KT.

It is my very pleasant duty to welcome your Excellency on behalf of the Bihar Research Society. As this is the last function of the Society which your Excellency will be attending, I must take this opportunity of conveying to your Excellency our deep gratitude to you for extending your patronage to the Society by becoming its President and expressing our sincere regret at your leaving the province at a time when the Society would have greatly needed your guidance and help. If it is not out of place I would also like to strike a personal note. Throughout your Excellency's tenure of office I have experienced as Chief Justice a degree of sympathy, understanding and readiness to help us in our difficulties which has greatly lightened my task in the administration of justice. I have felt that whenever it became necessary to invoke your Excellency's aid and a good case could be made out my appeal would not be in vain and there would be a prompt and effective response. On behalf of the Society I wish you many years of sound health and happiness and express the hope that like some of its former Presidents you will continue to be interested in its activities and welfare.

The Honorary Secretary of the Society has given a brief summary of the activities of the Society in his Annual Report which

has already been circulated and I shall only supplement it with some further details.

In conformity with the practice of the previous years I would in the first instance refer briefly to the contents of our Journal during the period under review.

For certain unavoidable reasons we had to bring out a combined number for March and June 1945 which begins with a note of optimism and gratification written on behalf of the Society by Dr. K. K. Datta of Patna College, on the victory of the Allies against the enemy powers. Then follows a paper which contains Part II of a valuable contribution by one of the leading Indian historians, Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachariar, Head of the Department of History and Politics, Annamalai University, on "Early Stages in the Development of the Madras Judiciary." Next appears the paper by Mr. Percy Brown, A. R. C. A., on "The Arts of Nepal" which was the subject of his address at the last Annual Meeting of our Society. After noting some important examples of Nepal Arts during the mediaeval period and tracing their association with the arts of contemporary Bihar, the learned writer, an eminent authority on the subject of Indian Art, observes in his thoughtful conclusion—"..... the cities of Nepal comprise a living museum of art during its mediaeval period..... many of the towns of India at that period were not dissimilar from those of Nepal, but the passage of time and other causes have swept most of these historical buildings away. But where they remain, as in Nepal, all these records of the past should be jealously preserved, and a Society like yours is doing admirable work in this important field".

The fourth paper in this issue, entitled "The *Kaliyugarājavit-tānta* and the Imperial Guptas" is contributed by Prof. Jagan Nath of Oriental College, Lahore, who tries to refute in it Dr. B. Bhattacharya's views regarding the authenticity and unimpeachable value of certain passages belonging to what the latter described as an old *Purāṇa* called the *Kaliyugarājavit-tānta* in his article published in Volume XXX, Part I, pp. 1—46 of our Journal. The writer points out "that the so called *Purāṇa* really does not exist" and that "we have some accounts composed at different dates, and these evidently represent attempts made in different times to present the

account of a particular dynasty in a historical setting". This article, as some of you are aware, has evoked strong discussions amongst a number of scholars.

The most important article in this number which has been appreciated by scholars in various places, is one on "Palm-leaf manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan" translated from the German of Lüders by Mrs. Tuhinika Chatterjee, M. A. Kāvya-tīrtha, of Calcutta. The manuscripts, discovered in one of the cave-temples of *Ming-ōi* (near Kysyl west of Ktscha), are fragments of dramas older in the opinion of Lüders, "than all that is preserved to us in dramatic arts in India" and "are the oldest manuscript-remains which are on the whole preserved out of India". The date of their composition is placed at the beginning of the Christian era and their authorship is ascribed to a Buddhist belonging to the "circle of poets whose prominent centre was *Aśvaghoṣa*". In an interesting article, contributed in this issue by Dr. D. B. Shastri of Patna College, we get a critical study of the "Art of Prediction" as discussed in an unpublished work of Dariyā Sāheb, a saint-poet of the *Nirguṇa* School of Hindi, who being born at Dharkhanda near Dumraon in Shahabad flourished during the 17th and 18th centuries. Another paper which deserves to be noticed is one contributed by the late Mr. Sham Bahadur describing some "Traditions and Legends" about the author's native place Sassaram, a site of much importance in relation to the Ancient and Mediaeval periods of Indian History. In the last article in this issue Dr. K. K. Datta of Patna College traces, on the authority of some unpublished English records, the beginning of the recruitment of the Rajputs of Bihar to the army of the English East India Company according to the suggestion of Colonel Scott, a shrewd and able officer of the Company.

We commenced printing, in an Appendix to this number a Sanskrit Text of *Paryāyamuktāvalī*, critically edited with notes by Dr. Tarapada Chowdhuri of Patna College. The text is based mostly on a collation of manuscript materials, which the editor secured for his study from different places in Manbhum, Burdwan, Bankura and Orissa.

The September number begins with Part III of Prof. Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasacharia's paper on "Early Stages in

the Development of the Madras Judiciary". Next appears a very thoughtful and learned contribution from Dr. S. C. Sarkar on "Ancient Indian Principles of occupation of conquered Territory" based on a chapter of the *Arthaśāstra* of *Kautilya*. Its foot-notes contain numerous comparative suggestions regarding the occupation of enemy countries, which are based on a critical study of the political knowledge of India in the days of *Kautilya*. The third article in this issue contains some critical observations by Mr. S. A. Shere, Curator, Patna Museum, on three interesting Mediaeval images, two of Visṇu and one of dancing *Ganeśa*, found in a village called Eksari within the jurisdiction of the Police Station Ekma in the Saran district. These important specimens of sculpture which are now carefully housed in the Patna Museum belong, according to the writer, to the Pala period which was marked by a remarkable outburst of cultural and artistic activities.

In his paper entitled "The Bonai Copper Plates of *Udaya Varāha Deva*" Mr. P. Acharya, State Archaeologist of Mayurbhanj, has presented to us a careful study of the originals of these important plates and we have reproduced facsimile of the plates and their text. The last article in this issue is the product of a very critical study by Mr. G. Ramdas of Jeypore and relates to the *Sūryavamsī* Kings of Orissa. By an exhaustive examination of relevant contemporary evidence in epigraphy and literature, the learned writer has been able to correct some inaccuracies in the accounts of the previous writers regarding these famous kings of Orissa and he has also rendered a valuable service to the students of History by giving three comparative chronological tables. The second instalment of the *Paryāyamuktāvalī*, as edited by Dr. T. Chowdhuri, is printed in an Appendix.

Part IV of Prof. Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasa-charia's article on "Early Stages in the Development of the Madras Judiciary" appears first in the December issue of the Journal. Next comes an important contribution of Dr. B. Bhattacharya, Director of Oriental Institute, Baroda, on "The Identity of the *Andrabhṛtyas*", one of the puzzling points in the history of Ancient India. The third article is on "Kingship and Nobility in Mewar" by Prof. A. C. Banerjee of Calcutta University in which the learned writer has given a critical and interesting account of a subject not properly studied before by other scholars.

In his article entitled "Mediaeval Kingship in the Deccan" Dr. K. K. Basu of T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur, deals with an important subject in the administrative history of Mediaeval India. The next paper is a valuable contribution by Khan Sahib S. H. Askari of Patna College on the condition of Bihar in the age of Emperor Aurangzeb, about which very little was known before. In another article in this issue Prof. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar of Patna College has critically reviewed the overseas commercial activities of Mir Jumla, who rose from the position of a merchant-adventurer to be one of the greatest generals and statesmen of the Mughul Empire.

I am glad to note that two Research Scholars of the University, Mr. Tara Bhusan Mukherjee and Mr. Visvanath Prasad Varma, have contributed in this issue two interesting papers entitled "Manu on Colonization" and "The Decline of Vedic Religion" respectively. The next article is by Dr. K. K. Datta of Patna College on *Admiral Watson*, who is said to have rendered valuable services to the English East India Company in connection with the recovery of their lost settlement of Calcutta and their ultimate victory in the critical years of 1756-57. The paper is based on some unpublished contemporary documents preserved under the custody of the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi. In this issue we complete the publication of Dr. T. Chowdhuri's edition of the text of *Paryāyamuktāvalī*.

What I have narrated so far would, I believe, show that during the last twelve months we were able to publish in our Journal a number of original articles of considerable importance adding substantially to our knowledge regarding the manifold aspects of our country's past history and culture. I am glad to say that we have recently received some favourable comments from outside on the high quality of the publications in our Journal which deservedly enjoys widespread reputation not only in India but also in the foreign countries. Ours is most probably the only Journal in India on the Arts side which has come out almost regularly in spite of the stress and difficulties caused by the War and the credit for this is due mostly to our able Editor Dr. K. K. Datta.

There have been some important additions to the stock of our Library which is a rich repository of different categories of rare books

and manuscript documents besides a large number of old and new Indian as well as foreign journals. We are trying to make some suitable arrangements for the study of the valuable Tibetan Manuscripts, stored here, by trained experts, but one of our very useful activities, that is, the search for Sanskrit, Prakrit and Maithili manuscripts could not be continued during the year as the Government grant for this purpose has been spent up though the work, because of the vastness of its nature, is not yet complete. It is a matter of regret that we have not got adequate fund to help the study of our Tibetan manuscripts, which is overdue and to resume the search for Sanskrit, Prakrit, Maithili and Persian manuscripts.

I have learnt with great pleasure from Dr. K. K. Datta that the Patna University has decided to appoint two research scholars for the search and discovery of manuscripts and other historical documents in all languages in different parts of Bihar. I hope that these University scholars and also the *ad hoc* Records' Regional Survey Committee already appointed by the Government of Bihar with Dr. K. K. Datta as its convener, will get due facilities and assistance for the discharge of their tasks.

Before concluding my review I must express on behalf of Society our deep sorrow at the death of Mr. Sham Bahadur who for many years served as the Honorary Treasurer and Secretary of the Society and who used to take a very keen personal interest in its affairs. I must also take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Justice Sinha and Dr. Chowdhuri for their work as Treasurer and Librarian respectively and the members of the Council for their ungrudging help to me. Lastly, I must express the gratitude of the Society to Dr. K. K. Datta, whose researches in Indian history are well known, for the the great care and pains with which he has been editing the Journal of the Society.

INDIA'S CULTURAL CONTACTS.

By DR. S. C. SARKAR.

While proposing a vote of thanks to the Chair on the occasion of the last Annual Meeting of this Society, Dr. S. C. Sarkar observed :

“ Your Excellency, this is the last meeting of the Society where you are with us as its ex-officio President ; but we hope, ‘ex’ office, you will yet continue to take the same interest in it, wherever you may be,—and perhaps this Society may afford you scope for several hobbies in your leisure years.—I am tempted to express a more ambitious hope : we would like to see you working as an ‘ambassador’ of our Society, forging cultural links with the two countries you are associated with,—Britain and Australia. In Britain it may be possible for you to try to enrich the resources of this Society by obtaining for it (at its own cost) duplicates and copies of various important, rare or the only surviving, Mss. and documents, or art relics of India, that have long remained the monopoly of archives and institutions in Britain (and in allied or occupied countries of Europe).—In Australia our Society would look forward to you to help in renewing *ancient* contacts between our two countries. It is gradually becoming common knowledge with the educated public in India, America, Canada and New Zealand, besides the Indo-Chinese, Indonesian and Polynesian regions,—that for many centuries Indian Culture and Commerce spread throughout the Indo-marine and Pacific regions. in the wake of Indian maritime and colonial enterprises. New Zealand was within this sphere of influence in the middle ages, and the N. W. coastlands of Australia were also affected by this movement in the same period. Quite accidentally, in the course of a search amongst stray remnants of 18th century Court Papers in Patna itself, I came across, a few years ago, clear evidence of a renewed (or continued ?) Indo-Australic contact in the days of Hastings and Cornwallis:—it appears that settlers (mostly cultivators and farmers) flowed in a steady stream down the Ganges and across the Bay of Bengal and Indian Ocean to the then very new British acquisition of Australia, not yet 20 years old,

—and this influx was strongly objected to by the Administration of the Penal Settlement, but was favoured by the Govt. in Fort William; it does not become clear how ultimately this immigration was stopped, and what became of these numerous colonists from the riparian districts of Bengal and Bihar in that distant Southern continent.—In the present day, and for generations to come, Australia and India are being, and are destined to be, more and more drawn together, in policy, defence and trade; it is not perhaps too much to hope that Your Excellency will find your scope in cementing this inevitable historical rapprochement by working for collaboration in culture and learning between the scholars, institutions and societies of the two countries.—The idea has appealed to me so strongly that I have just written to a friend of our family, Professor Gwyn James (once a fellow student with my son in London) who is now in the Victoria University, about this Indo-Australic cultural association.

So far as we, the Society, are concerned, we gratefully recall the suggestion Your Excellency made at this very time and place last year,—that this Society should prepare itself for assisting the Government of the country, in formulating schemes of economic, administrative, civic or constitutional reform or development, on the lines suited best to the genius, tradition and experience of the people through the ages,—by a critical study and interpretation of pre-British medieval and ancient governmental conditions.—I can assure Your Excellency that this wise advice of yours has not been lost sight of,—and that this Society will always be glad to place its service at the disposal of the government in its efforts, to create a truly Indian administration and public life, and a truly Indian outlook on international relations, in tune with the great past of India.

INDIAN CULTURE IN CENTRAL ASIA.

By DR. P. C. BAGCHI.

My first duty is to offer you my sincere thanks for your kind invitation to address you to-night. The time was rather too short for the preparation of a learned discourse. I therefore thought of placing before you the general outline of a subject to which little attention has been paid by our scholars. Yet its importance in the interpretation of our past can never be possibly over-estimated.

The Art and Archaeology of Central Asia is in many respects inseparable from the Art and Archaeology of India. Their comparative study throws light, on the one hand, on the history of the cultural and colonial expansion of India across the deserts right up to the frontier of China and helps, on the other, in the solution of many a problem of ancient Indian history.

The materials for this study are not lacking. Archaeologists from different parts of Europe carried on extensive explorations in Central Asia for nearly twenty-five years, from the last decade of the nineteenth century till about the commencement of the first world war. The precious finds of these explorations are carefully preserved in the British Museum, the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris and let us hope in the Berlin Museum. The Russian collection only was destroyed to the great misfortune of the students of Central Asian antiquities during the last revolution. A portion of the British Museum collection is now in the Central-Asian Museum at New Delhi.

A lot of the important materials has been studied by specialists in Europe but a good lot still remains untouched for want of sufficient number of properly equipped scholars. There is therefore enormous scope for collaboration with the European scholars in this field if we only care to make the additional linguistic and historical preparations that are necessary for the task.

Let us now consider the problems in their geographical and historical settings. The country with which we are concerned is that part of Asia which received through ages currents of life and civilisation from different quarters. This is just the reason for which it has been called "the Innermost Heart" of Asia. The late Sir Aurel Stein, the most indefatigable explorer of Central Asian region, preferred the name *Ser-India* which the ancient Greeks used for these lands. The use of this name has the greatest justification for the simple reason that India and China played the most important rôle in shaping the ancient civilisation of this region.

Ser-India is bounded on the north by the T'ien-shan or the Celestial mountains and on the south by the Kun-lun ranges. On the east this region is bounded by the Nan-shan which itself is a continuation of the Kun-lun. On the west, the Pamirs, the Imaos of the Greek geographers connect the T'ien-shan with the Hindukush.

These mountains give rise to important rivers which flow towards the Taklamakan Deserts, gradually dry up and ultimately lose themselves in the sands. The Kashgar Daria which rises in the T'ien-shan and the Yarkand Daria which rises in the Pamirs are powerful near their sources but as they flow on, they gradually diminish in volume in the proximity of the deserts. These two combine together to form the Tarim river which flows along the depression towards the marshes of the Lob-nor. This is the river which was mentioned in Indian literature as *Sītā*. It is along these river basins that thickly populated and prosperous colonies had been established since very early times.

The colonies that flourished in the southern part of this region were from west to east—Cokkuka in the region of modern Yarkand, Sailadeśa in the region of Kashgar, Khotamna or Godāna in the region of Khotan and Calmadana in the region of Cher-chen. Smaller principalities also once existed in this region but they have now completely disappeared through the erosion of deserts. The ruins of old cities in the sand dunes are the only witness to their former existence.

In the northern part of this region, along the foot of the T'ien-shan, there were equally flourishing colonies. There were, from west to east—Bharuka in the region of modern Uch-Turfan, Kuci-rājya in

the region of Kuchar and Agnideśa in the region of Karasahr. There is also evidence of former existence of small Indian colonies along the principal routes in these regions up to the frontier of China.

There were two principal routes connecting this region with China. The Chinese historians of the first century of the Christian era have left a full description of these routes. Looking from China westwards, the Imperial route from the capital of China, bifurcated near the pass of Yu-men-koan on the frontier. One of the routes—the southern one, passed through the Lob-nor region towards the west and connected the southern countries such as Calmadana, Khotamna, Śailadeśa and Cokkuka. The other followed the northern fringe of the desert and passed through Agnideśa, Kucirāja and Bharuka. The routes again met in the neighbourhood of Kashgar.

From the Indian frontier there were two distinct approaches to this region—the shorter one was along the upper valley of the Indus and through Gilgit over the Pamirs to Kashgar. Although it was a shorter route it was more difficult of access to the travellers on account of the many steep ascents and dangerous hanging bridges over the hilly rivers. The less difficult but a longer one lay along the Kabul river and by the passes of the Hindukush proceeded through Bactria and Tokharestan to the Ser-Indian region both from north and south.

The last mentioned route started from Puruṣpura, the ancient capital of Gandhāra and proceeded along the valley of the Kabul river' passed by Hidda and Nagarahāra and reached the valley of Bamiyan before crossing the Hindukush. Bamiyan which is mentioned by ancient Chinese travellers under the name Fan-yen-na was one of the most important centres of Buddhist culture on the way to Bactria and Central Asia. The valley which is surrounded by snow-clad peaks of the Hindukush was in ancient times the most prosperous seat of a government. It attracted traders and missionaries from all countries and specially from India. There is a Buddhist tradition that after the destruction of Kapilvastu by Viruḍhaka, the king of Kośala, four princes of the Śākya family were compelled to leave the country. One of the princes was received by the people of Bamiyan as their

king. In the middle of the 7th century, the famous Chinese pilgrims, till pretend to have seen a descendant of the Śākya prince on the throne of Bamiyan.

Although we cannot place much reliance on this tradition there is no doubt that Bamiyan had risen to be a great centre of Buddhist studies already in the early centuries of the Christian era. The Buddhist manuscripts discovered by the French archaeological mission of Hackin in one of the ancient cave temples in the hills of Bamiyan bear clear testimony to it. The oldest of these manuscripts belong to the Kushān period. A part of the manuscripts also belongs to the Gupta period as the script in which they are written is the Brāhmī script of the slanting Gupta style.

The remains of art also clearly testify to its prosperity as a centre of Buddhism. The ancient grottos in the neighbourhood of Bamiyan, once used by the Buddhist monks for study and meditation, contain many relics of the Buddhist art. The most remarkable of these relics are the fresco paintings which are reminiscent of the art of Ajanta. But as Bamiyan was situated on the main road leading to the ancient Persian zone, a certain amount of Sassanian influence also may be discovered in the frescoes. The remains of Buddhist sculpture at Bamiyan belong to the Gandhāra school of art. The drapery and the head-ress of the images clearly bring out their Hellenistic affiliation. Colossal images more than fifty feet high, had been curved out of the rocks by the Buddhist artists of Bamiyan. Although they are now in a dilapidated condition they bear witness to the former splendour of the Buddhist institutions of the country.

To the north of the Hindukush, on the road leading from Bamiyan to Balkh, another ancient Buddhist site has been discovered at a place called Dukhtar-i-Nusirwan near Habak. The ruins are not so extensive as those at Bamiyan but the few relics of Buddhist art that have been discovered there disclose their clear affiliation to the Gandhāra school.

A little further to the north of this region, the route brings us to Balkh. This is the site of ancient Bactria of the Greeks, which is mentioned by Chinese historians under the name Fo-ho-lo and by Indian writers as Bālhika. Bactria, though Iranian in its substratum, had been converted to Buddhism probably as early as the 2nd century

before Christ. The sovereignty of the country had changed hands many a time in the past—from the Greeks to the Yue-ches or the Indo-Scythians, from the Yue-ches to the Hephthalites and from the Hephthalites to the Turks. But the country remained faithful to Buddhism till its conversion to Islam.

The ancient sites of Balkh have not been properly excavated but Chinese accounts have preserved for us glimpses of the ancient glory of Balkh as a centre of Buddhist civilisation. We learn from these accounts that the Navasaṅghārāma, the largest Buddhist establishment of Balkh, was the only institution to the north of the Hindukush where there was a regular succession of Masters who were authoritative interpreters of the Buddhist canon. The institution was known under the name *Naubahar* to the world. After the destruction of the monastery towards the end of the 7th century, its chief priests who were converted to Islam were invited to the court of the Caliph at Baghdad. Albiruni tells us that it was they who introduced the study of Indian astronomy and mathematics in the Arab world.

Whatever the fate of Balkh might have been towards the close of the Buddhist period, we know it from authentic Chinese records that the country played an important rôle in the dissemination of Indian art and civilisation from very early times. When the country passed into the hands of the Yue-ches in the 2nd century before Christ, China opened up political relations with her. Buddhism was introduced in China by the Yue-che missionaries. Images of Buddha and Buddhist texts were also carried by them not only to different parts of Central Asia but also to China.

We have seen that two main routes led from Balkh to Central Asia. One passed northwards and by Sogdiana and through the country of the Western Turks along the Issik kul ultimately reached Central Asia near Uch-Turfan. The other route which is more important for us, started from Balkh, passed through Tokhorestan crossed the difficult passages of the Pamirs and reached the plain near Kashgar.

The ancient name of Kashgar was Śailadesa. It is mentioned as Shu-lei in the earlier Chinese records and as Kie-sha in the records of the 7th and 8th centuries. It was a Buddhist country. Hiuan-tsang tells us that the inhabitants were sincere believers in Buddhism and

that there were hundreds of Buddhist monasteries in the capital of the country. Indian Buddhist scholars were usually found in those monasteries to act in the capacity of teachers to the local Buddhists. The Chinese records tell the same thing about Cokkuka or Yarkand.

Of all the kingdoms lying along the southern route Khotan seems to have played the most important rôle in the dissemination of Indian culture. In fact the country served as an advanced post for the colonisers and missionaries from India. This was mainly due to its contiguity to Kashmir. The road from Kashmir to Khotan though difficult was not long. It passed along the upper valley of the Indus up to Darel and then proceeding north-westward along the Yasin valley it went over hills and valleys up to Tash-Kurghan. From Tash-Kurghan to Khotan it was an eastward journey over the Bolor Tagh range. This was the route which was followed by Fa-hien in the 4th century during his journey from Khotan to India.

Khotan is mentioned as Godāna or Godāniya in ancient Sanskrit Cosmographical texts. Godāna and Aparā-Godāna or Outer-Godāna were the two northern countries that were known to ancient Indian writers. The Chinese mention it under the name Yü tien. The Buddhist traditions tell us that Khotan was colonised by Indians already in the time of Aśoka. Old documents discovered in the region of Khotan have established that there was a ruling dynasty in Khotan bearing an Indian name, Vijaya. Kharoṣṭhī records unearthed from sites not very far from Khotan reveal that an Indian dialect allied to the dialect spoken in the North-Western parts of India towards the beginning of the Christian era was, if not spoken, at least the official language of the country. Buddhism was an established religion in that land. Buddhist texts in Sanskrit were translated into ancient Khotanese. The biggest monastery in Khotan was the Gomati-vihāra. Buddhist monks from other parts of Central Asia used to come to this institution for their studies. There was a time when the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims also, instead of coming so far as India, stopped in Khotan for their study of the Scriptures. Indian scholars of repute settled in the monasteries of Khotan and they were a source of inspiration to foreign monks.

The ancient art of Khotan was a purely a Buddhist art. Influence of the Gandhāra school is dominating in sculpture but the painting

either in the frescoes of the cave temples or on other materials contain diverse influences. The frescoes of Dandan Uilik, a site to the east of Khotan, remind us of Ajanta in its general composition. A certain number of scenes depicted there, are clearly reminiscent of the frescoes of Bamiyan and Ajanta. But in the treatment of a number of subjects we may also discover a distinct Sassanian influence. In this connection reference may be made to the famous Bodhisattva, represented as a Sassanian king with pointed nose, black beard, with a tiara on the head and dressed in a sort of yellow robe and long boots. A large number of Buddhist images which were works of the Gandhāra artists has also been discovered in the Khotan region. Besides, relics of the Gupta art which was immune from the Gandhāra influence are not quite rare in this area.

Numerous fragments of literary texts as well as official documents have been discovered in the ancient sites of Khotan and the neighbouring region. The scripts in which they are written are mostly Kharoṣṭhī which was current in North-Western India from the time of Aśoka till the end of the Kushān period and the Brāhmī of the Kushān and the Gupta periods. The literature represented by the fragments is purely Buddhist—either in Khotanese translation or in Sanskrit. The ancient Khotanese language was an eastern Iranian dialect and it was probably the language spoken by the Śakas. The old Buddhist texts are in fact the only materials for the study of this now forgotten language. The Sanskrit texts, whether fragmentary or complete, represent various departments of the Buddhist literature. A number of rare medical texts in Sanskrit has also been discovered in this area. In fact the literary finds in the entire southern region throw a flood of light not only on the history of the language and literature of the local people but also on the history of the Buddhist literature in Sanskrit.

The kingdoms lying along the northern route from Kashgar to the Chinese frontier were no less important than Khotan in the history of Central Asia. Bharuka, Kucirājya and Agnideśa, all have their romantic tales to tell. The people of this area and the language spoken by them were different from those of the south but it is again Buddhism and Indian culture which bound them together. Of all the northern kingdoms Kucī was the most important. It played the same

rôle as that of Khotan in the diffusion of Buddhist culture in the north. The ancient Chinese historians give a very bright picture of the kingdom. China had often led aggressive expeditions against the country and brought it under submission but every time the country reasserted its independence. The rulers of the country had names of Indian extraction such as Suvarṇapuṣpa, Vasuyaśas, Haradeva Suvarṇadeva etc.

The language of the country was an isolated but independent dialect of the Indo-European family of languages but it had undergone a deep Sanskrit influence. The Chinese pilgrims who visited the country tell us that the monks of Kucī knew Sanskrit and could speak it. The discovery of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts in the old sites of Kucī amply corroborate their statement. The writing which was used in Kucī and other adjacent countries was, like the writing used in the Khotan area, a variety of the Gupta script.

There is evidence to show that Kucī was not merely a seat of the Buddhist studies but also a centre of missionary activities. Many teachers of Kucī carried Buddhist texts to the chief cities of China and helped in their translation into Chinese.

Buddhism was the official religion of the country. Chinese literature has preserved the names of Kuchean Buddhist scholars who had gone to China in the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries and collaborated with the Chinese scholars in the work of translation of Buddhist texts into Chinese. The greatest of them was one Kumārajīva. He was the son of an Indian father and a Kuchean mother who was a princess of the ruling family of Kucī. Born probably in the 3rd quarter of the 4th century in Kucī, Kumārajīva was taken by his mother to Kashmir for education at the age of seven. After completing his education under the guidance of distinguished teachers he returned to Kucī after several years. He soon rose to an eminent position by virtue of his profound scholarship and people from different kingdoms in Central Asia began to come to Kucī for the study of Buddhist philosophy under his guidance. Towards the end of 4th century Kucī was invaded by the Chinese army and Kumārajīva was taken to China along with other prisoners of war. His name was already known to the Chinese Buddhist world. So, although taken as a prisoner, great honour was shown to him by the Emperor and the

officials and he was soon after appointed Kuo-she or the *Rājapurohita*. He was placed at the head of the Buddhist community in China. He spent the rest of his career in translating Sanskrit Buddhist texts into Chinese and teaching Buddhist philosophy to the Chinese scholars. A little more than 100 translations are ascribed to him. As his knowledge of Sanskrit and Chinese was of a high order, his translation was taken as a model even by the Chinese scholars in later times. He was the first to introduce various systems of Buddhist philosophy in China through his translations of the works of great teachers like Aśvaghōṣa and Nāgārjuna.

A number of Buddhist caves in the region of Kucī and Karasahr contains frescoes which throw light on the ancient art of Kucī. The frescoes are generally found in the hills near Kucī and in Kizil, Kumtura and Duldur Akur. The paintings on walls and ceilings of the caves are perfect in execution and are clearly of the same affiliation as those of Khotan and Bamiyan. The sculpture belongs to the Gandhāra school. Further to the east in the region of Karasahr and Turfan the ancient art reveals a greater degree of Chinese influence which is absent in the west. There is evidence of the prevalence of Indian music in ancient Kucī. Kucī sent, on several occasions, musical parties to the Chinese court and a number of musical airs which were introduced by them has been identified with Indian *rāgas*. Some of the names of the musical notes of Kucī were also Indian—*ṣaḍja*, *pañcama*, *vṛṣa* and *sahagrāma* were names taken from the Indian musical system.

The literary finds consist of Sanskrit texts and translations of Buddhist texts in the local language. Sanskrit texts belong to the literature of the Buddhist school which was prevalent in Kashmir namely the Sarvāstivāda school. The local language had two dialects, one spoken in Kucī and the other in Agni or Karasahr. Scholars are not yet unanimous in naming the language. The German scholars identified it with the language of the Tokharians and called the two dialects Tokharian A and Tokharian B. The identification is not based on conclusive evidence. So others have been more cautious by avoiding to give a definite name to the language. They have called the language of Kucī simply Kuchean and that of Agni—Agnean or Karsahrian. The translations of Buddhists texts are the only specimens of this lost language. Although their number is not very large, they

are sufficient enough to demonstrate that the language is an isolated branch of the Indo-European with pronounced *kentum* characteristics.

To the south of Yu-men-koan, there where the two routes reach the frontier of China, a large number of Buddhist caves were discovered at a place called Tun-huang. The caves are familiar under the Chinese name Ts'ien-fo-tong or "the Caves of Thousand Buddhas." The construction of these caves started in the 5th century and continued till the 8th. Situated as they were at the meeting place of the two routes from the west, these caves served as the meeting place of the Buddhist monks of different nationalities and cultures. Buddhist scholars with their loads of sacred manuscripts and relics from Iran, Bactria, India, Sogdiana, Khotan and Kucī used to halt there on their way to the capital of China. There is also evidence of many works being translated into Chinese in these caves.

The remains of art and literature discovered in the Tun-huang grottos have revealed to the world of scholars a great synthesis of a large number of cultures. About 15,000 manuscripts in rolls were hidden in one of the caves. They were discovered by the French Archaeological mission and are now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. The collection contains manuscripts written in diverse scripts such as Kharoṣṭhī, early Brahmī of the Kushān period slanting Gupta, Aramaic, Tibetan, Uigur and Chinese. A large number of the texts is Buddhist but other religions such as Christianity brought by the Nestorian missionaries, Manichaeism, Taoism etc. are also represented. The Chinese section contains classics, philosophy, history and geography.

The art of Tun-huang represents the same synthesis of diverse art traditions. In sculpture there is a progressive Chinese adaptation of the models of Gandhāra, Gupta and Iranian art. There are plastic representations which may be directly connected with the Gupta art of India. Gupta influence is more pronounced in some fresco paintings which are clearly reminiscent of the art of Ajanta. The images of some of the Buddhist divinities are also inspired by Gupta models. Even where the Chinese influence is dominant in the execution, the drapery often betrays the influence of Gandhāra art.

We have now reached the end of our journey. A retrospect is sure to convince you of the great importance of this region in the

study of ancient history. The nature of the discoveries so far made clearly establishes it as the Innermost Heart of Asia. It received currents of civilisation from all possible quarters and tried to give new shapes to it. It again encouraged the various nomadic races to migrate to the surrounding lands carrying with them the old cultural traits in their new forms.

The archaeological and literary finds so far studied have helped in the solution of many old problems but they have also raised new ones. In the field of linguistics the characteristics of four languages, which were long lost, have been determined with great precision. These languages are Sogdian, an Iranian language which used to be spoken in the region of modern Samarcand, Khotanese also known as Śaka which was also an eastern Iranian dialect, Kuchean and Karasahrian also called Tokharian which was an Indo-European language of the Kentum group and Uigur. Some of the documents have also thrown light to a restricted degree on the nature of old Turkish and old Tibetan.

So far as the ancient religions are concerned much light has been thrown not only on the history of Buddhism but also on the history of Manichaeism. Manichaeism, driven out of its land of origin, had a great fortune in Central Asia. It had borrowed so many new traits from Buddhism that it could not be always distinguished from the latter. In fact Buddhism and Manichaean texts have been found on the same manuscript rolls in the Tun-huang caves. Some of the manuscripts also demonstrate that frantic efforts had been made by the Taoists to pass Buddhism as an offshoot of their faith. They tried to do this by literary forgeries which were however soon discovered.

The history of ancient art has been much enriched by the discoveries of the art relics. The influence of so many ancient schools of art, such as Gandhāra, Gupta, Sassanian, Roman and Chinese, have not been found in any other part of the continent. A careful study of these influences help considerably in tracing the old links and affiliations of art traditions and models.

Apart from the question of India influences, pure Indian studies have been amply benefited by the central Asian-finds. The fragments of texts which were unearthed in various parts of the country have clearly demonstrated the existence of a complete

Tripitaka in Sanskrit. This collection although now lost in India was carried to China and translated into Chinese. A comparison of the Central Asian fragments with the corresponding translation in Chinese has helped in establishing the identity of the original. Our faith in the antiquity and the authenticity of the Pali canon of Buddhism has been thus rudely shaken. The Sanskrit canon has the same claim to antiquity and authenticity, as the Pali. These rival claims raise serious problems on the original canon of Buddhism which require to be solved.

We have also for the first time fragments of Buddhist texts that had been composed in a dialect closely akin to the language spoken in North-Western India in the Kushān period. Fragments of the oldest Indian drama, medical texts, astronomy, birth-stories of Buddha, parables, stotras and many other compositions in Sanskrit draw our attention in a tantalising manner to the sand dunes of Central Asian deserts. As there is scope for further studies of the old finds in the archives of Europe so also there is room for further explorations in different parts of Central Asia. The stalwarts in this field, Sir Aurel Stein, Ed. Chavannes, Paul Pelliot, Grünwedel, Von Lecoq are no more. But their work is before us to show the way not only through the deserts and the inaccessible mountain ranges but also through the pages of ancient Chinese annals and the records of Buddhist and Nestorian missionaries.

SŪRYAVAMŚI KINGS OF ORISSA

PURUSHOTTAMA DEVA

By G. RAMADAS, JEYPORE.

In the previous paper of the same caption (*J. B. R. S. Vol. XXXI, Part III, P. 172f*) it is shown that Kapilēśvara Deva, the founder of the dynasty died in November 1466 A. D. and that his son succeeded to the throne. This was Purushottama Deva Gajapati, the only son begotten of Pārvatī, the legally married wife of Kapilēśvara.

The epigraph dated Sunday, 20 March 1467 A. D., being the 2nd-aika of Purushottama, informs that from A. D. 1466 November to March 1467 it is reckoned as the 2nd year of the prosperous reign of this new king. As the saying 'king never dies' goes, Purushottama was announced king as soon as breath left Kapilēśvara's body. In the *Appendix A* of that paper, it is pointed that this death became known in Puri only on 14th December A. D. 1466 *ie.*, 19 days after the event. The ceremonies connected with the coronation might have been held after the funeral rites had been completed.

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. XXI, No. 1, P. 38*. Mr. P. Mukherjee says on the authority of the expression '*Krishṇātīre mama prādāt*', which he had seen in a Ms. in Ganjam, that Purushottama was present at the time of his father's demise on the bank of the river Krishṇā. No other record mentions this. If it were so, why did the dying king entrust the jewels intended for the God Jagannātha to the Mahāpātras who had, on oath, promised to carry them to Puri and offer to the God? The inscription in the Puri Temple (*J. A. S. B. Vol. LXVII, 1893*) regarding these jewels is discussed in

1 Only one epigraph (S. I. I. Vol. VII No 733.) mentions Išvara Deva as the son of Gajapati Kapilendra Mahārāja. Since the Insc. Suddenly ends, it appears that he had died in A. D. 1460 Jan. 26 Tuesday (App. A. of my paper I. J. B. R. S. Vol. XXXI, Part III, P. 189. No. 19) at the extremity (*Keta gonanu*) of the fort of Worrangal. It is not known whether Išvara Deva was younger or elder than Purushottama.

the remarks against *No 29 of the Appendix A* to the previous paper. Had his son and successor been present at the king's death-bed, why did the King employ the *Mahāpātras* for their delivery at their destination? As will be shown later on, Purushottama was a great *bhakta*. Does it stand to reason to argue that Kapilēśvara had no trust in his own son?

Purushottama is said by tradition to be illegitimate. Though Mr. Mukherjee refutes that he was a '*dasī putra*', he holds that the expression '*Jagannātha Vara Prasāda*' of the inscription in Guntur, (*M. E. R. 1935-36, Part II*) vouchsafes the illegitimacy of the second Gajapati king. If properly understood, the compound means only that he was begotten by the blessing of God (Purushottama) Jagannātha, but nothing else. It is usual, our Śāstras say also,—in all classes of men—to propitiate their family, or village, or country God for an offspring if they fail to have one during the early years after their marriage. Pratāpa Rudra Gajapati in one epigraph was styled '*Durgā Vara Putra*'. Are we to understand from it that he was illegitimate? Further on, it is shown that Śāluva Narasimha was begotten by worshipping the God at Ahobilam and was given that name. Rāmaprasādā, Gaurīprasādā, Lakshmīprasādā are the names conferred on children begotten by their parents propitiating the gods indicated by those names. Prasāda is a north Indian termination to a name just as Rao is of the Western Country. In Southern India, the Telugus use 'Ayya'. The votaries of Vēnkateśvara of Tirupati name the first born, Venkata. The God at Srirangam gives his name 'Ranga' to the children of his devotees. Kapilendra having been a worshipper of Jagannātha of Puri, named his son Purushottama, another name of the God. It is said in the Velicherla copper plate Grant (*Bharati, Dhātṛ, Srāvaṇa, P. 271f*) that on account of his meritorious deeds he had begotten by the light (amśa) of Purushottama, the son Śrī Purushottam--endra.

पुण्यै स्तदीयै : पुरुषोत्तमांशात्पुत्रोऽभवत्श्रीपुरुषोत्तमेन्द्र : ।

This is corroborated by the Rajavolu C. P. (*Bharati, Bahudhanya, Sravana, P. 237f*)

अनुग्रहात् श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्य यदीयसुनु जर्नकाद्भव ।

आकार साम्यात्पुरुषोत्तमस्य चक्रे कुमारं पुरुषोत्तमाख्यम् ॥

Again the Īdupulapādu inscription (*M. E. R.*² 1922 No. 802) records that he had a son Purushottama-endra of unrivalled qualities and of the prowess of the enemy of the cities (*Purāri*).

तस्याऽभवत्सूनुरनूनसारः पुरारितेजाः पुरुषोत्तमेन्द्रः ।

These prove beyond doubt that Purushottama was the legitimate son born of Pārvatī, the queen of Kapilēśvara and the parents believed that the God of Puri favoured them with this son.

Prejudiced by the false theory of illegitimacy and also by the unauthenticated belief that Kapilēśvara had several sons, Mr. Mukherjee wrote that the King conferred the empire on Purushottama in preference to the other sons. Madala-Panji on which the learned scholar relies is pronounced, after personal examination of the original, unreliable, by such a scholar as Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, as it was not, being written a century or two after the period of Purushottama, a contemporaneous record (*J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. XIII, Part I.*).

Another authority he quotes in support of his argument is a Ms. said to have been written by Purushottama himself and in the preface of which Bhuvanēśvarī is praised. In the footnote he says that it exists with a Brāhmin family that are settled in Gajam, having come two hundred years ago from Puri. (*I. H. Q. Vol. XXI No. 1*) M. M. H. P. Sastri has discovered four of the productions of Purushottama's poetry but in not even one of them is noticed the statement which Mr. Mukherjee makes so much of. The name of the Ms. is not given. If it were really a composition of the second Gajapati King, it deserves to be acquired for any manuscript Library. The following verse in the footnote on Page 38 of his Kāñchī-Kāverī Tradition. (*ibid*) deserves examination.

यस्याः प्रभावमहिमा कृष्णातीरे मम प्रादात्

कपिलेन्द्रनन्दनोऽहं तदनुग्रहमात्रज्ञसाम्राज्यम् ॥³

2 My thanks are due to the Govt. Epigraphist who, sending me the estimate and his office transcription, permitted me to use them as I liked.

3 It may be understood to mean 'since my elder brother īśvara Deva died in A. D. 1460 (Note 1 on P. 1 above) the empire devolved on me when the King died on the bank of the Krishṇā river, mātra ought to be taken with *nandana Kapilendra* (*eka*) mātra *nandanāham*.

The sloka means, 'The glory of his valour was given to me on the bank of the Krishṇā (river) ; because. I was the son of Kapilendra, I received the imperial title as his only favour to me.' Any son succeeding to the property earned by his father thinks it to be a favour done to him by his parent. Much more grateful feels a son that inherits immense wealth. If the father does not earn and hoard up wealth, the son or sons must struggle for themselves. Richmen eagerly wish to have offspring to enjoy the wealth they have treasured up. If the son does not inherit anything from his father where is the occasion for him to feel grateful to his parent? Purushottama expresses his gratitude to his father for having secured such a vast empire for him to inherit. What was Kapilendra? There is no record of his parentage or of his rank and power he had held during the time of the last of the Eastern Gaṅgas. Did Kapileśvara even mention anywhere the name of his father? Perhaps his father was of humble origin and status. There was no justification for Kapilendra to feel grateful to his father. But it was not the case with Purushottama. He received the empire, title, wealth and above all learning which disperses all pride and lead the mind to the throne of God, because he had the fortune of being begotten by Kapilendra. He really felt proud to call himself the son of Kapilendra. If the verse were really from the pen of Purushottama Deva, it intimates how exceedingly grateful he felt to his father who had given him the imperial power.

Now with regard to Hammira, Mr. Mukherjee says, 'But we are not inclined to share R. D. Banerjee's opinion who has characterised the story of the disputed succession as 'myth' when the existence of Hammira, ignored by Banerjee, has been established beyond doubt. The learned scholar imagines that the great foe Hammira said in a verse of *Saraswatī Vilāsam* to have been vanquished by Purushottama Deva as the same as the one that is treated as 'myth' by R. D. Banerjee. Let us examine what is said in the *Vilāsam*.

यो हम्मीरमहारिपुं समतनोत्पादाब्जपीठानतम्

सोऽयं श्रीपुरुषोत्तमो गजपति :॥

'He who had made the great foe' Hammira bow to the stool of his lotus feet is this śrī Purushottama Gajapati' (*S. Vilāsam, Verse 22 second half*),

This subjugation of Hammira is not found recorded in any other source. Even this is found only in one Ms. as is said in the footnote by the editor of the work. The verse tells that Hammira's subjugation was achieved after the war with Sāluva Narasimha of Karnata had been won. This Hammira must have been as great a warrior as the chief of Karnata. Hammira Rai cannot be identified with this great foe; If at all there existed a person 'Hammira Rai, by name he would have been treated as a rebel and traitor to his country and deserved not to be mentioned on par with Sāluva Narasimha of the south. Before I proceed to identify this Hammira, *the great foe*, the significance of Rai or Roy requires exposition.

In Jeypore (Koraput District) family the sons born on wives married according to Vedic rites are called Devs while those born of Gandharva union are styled Roys or Rais. On this analogy it may be argued that Hammira Rai might have been a progeny of some ancient Gandharva marriage. We cannot assert that he was such a 'Rai' as is mentioned in the books written by the mahammadans who use the termination for a *Raja* or *Raya*. For them every leader of an army was a 'Rai or Raya, e. g., the principal 'Rai of Telingana', the Rai of Orissa etc.

As for the great foe, Hammira, there seem to have been a great famous warrior of that name mentioned in Sanskrit Literature. In *Kuvalayānandam*, a Sanskrit work on rhetorics, the following verse is cited as an example of *Akramātisa - yukti alankāra*.

मुञ्चति मुञ्चति कोशं भजति च भजति प्रकम्पमरिवर्गः ।

हम्मीरवीरखड्गे त्यजति त्यजति क्षमामाशु ॥

The commentator simply says that Hammira was a great hero but does not give the source from which it is taken and nothing about the hero.

Hammira-charitam by Nayachandra Suri, a disciple of Jayachandra Suri is noted as No. 3078 A of the *Descriptive Catalogue of Mss. under the care of A. S. B. Vol. IV History and Geography, P. 2*. In the preface, M. M. H. P. Sastri says, the author 'a Jain writer, gives the history of Hammira Chauhana, the Raja of Ranastambhapura (*Vulgo*--Rintambore) the strongest hillfort in India, is now in Jaipur State. Hammira fought gallantly in the defence of his Kingdom against Alauddin Khilji during the closing years of the 13th century

A. D. Hammira Mahākāvya is a work of very rare availability and is edited by J. Kirtane. A branch of this Cauhan is said to have come to Dakṣiṇa Kośala and established themselves at Patna (Bolangir) and grown so powerful about A. D. 1211 that, the chief Bajila, the tiger amongst the rulers of men, leading the armies protected the prosperity of Utkala.

समरेषु बलाचक्षो ररक्षोत्रलसम्पदम्

(*Kosalānand Kāvya*. (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XX, Part II., P. 144.)

This was the time of Anaṅga Bhīma Deva of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty A. D. 1211 --- A. D. 1238. Bajila of the Southern Cauhan family conquered Baud, khimandi (khemidi) Bastar, and Nandapur, i.e. to say the whole of the hill country and plateau called the Tri-Kaliṅga country bordering Orissa and Kalinga on the west. The *Kāvya* tells us that the family continued till A. D. 1287, till the time of the Eastern Gaṅga King Narasiṃha Deva II. The family continued on and became independent of the Utkala sovereign during the decadance of the Eastern Gaṅga rule. At the time of Purushottama Deva, a ruler of this plateau country might have been called Hammira, so famous for his valour that he became known so far South as Karnata. For, in *Sāluvaabhyudayam* is mentioned one Hammira to have been subdued by Sāluva Narasiṃha. The following are the countries said to have been conquered by the Karnata chief.

किम्मीर बङ्गाल कलिङ्ग गौड़ हम्मीर सौराष्ट्र कोष्ट पूर्वान् ।

(*Canto VII, Verse II*) This Hammira is mentioned between गौड़ and Saurashtra; it may be identified with the plateau from Amarakantak in the north to Bobbili (the chief seat of Nandapur rulers) in the South and Wain-gaṅga (?) on the west. This country lying to the west of the Gajapati empire might have been a thorn in the side of the Utkala ruler as Sāluva Narasiṃh was in the South. In the 1st part already published, it is pointed out that Kapilēśvara acquired the title of *Bhramaravara nṛpa* by conquering the Bhramara Kūṭa lying between 81° and 83° E and 19° 30' and 21° N. (J. B. R. S. Vol. XXXI, Pt. III, Page. 177.) This Bhramarakūṭa might have been the name then in vogue to the empire of the Cauhan rulers. A part of this is still known as Bāmra, a corruption of *Bhramarakūṭa* (?). The Cauhan ruler had been vanquished by Kapilēśvara Deva as he had subdued the Karnata country up to the Cauvery through his trusted general Kumara

Hambira Mahāpātro. But when the then Cauhan ruler Hammvira contemporary of Purushottama, like Sāluva Narasiṃha, might have tried, during the absence of Purushottama in the South, to regain his country's independence but the Gajapati ruler after peace had been established in the south compelled this Hammira to be his feudatory. The Hammira mahāripu might be this ruler of the Cauhan territory. Further research may throw some more light to confirm or modify the probable identification written above.

Now we shall take up the history of the conquest of the Karnata by Purushottama Gajapati. Sāluva Narasiṃha Deva Raya assumed the reins of government of Chandragiri Rājya about A. D. 1457. (Appendix B). He was the son of Gunda III and Mallambika; for a long time they had no children and begot their son after propitiating the God Narasiṃha at Ahobilam -- *Canto II* of *Sāluvaśhyudayam* describes "the penance of Gunda III and his consort Mallāmbikā at Ahobilam, the appearance of God Narasiṃha in his dreams and his promise to enter human life as Gunda's son. Mallambā became pregnant and gives birth to the son, Narasiṃha" (*Sources of Vijayanagar History* by S. K. Aiyangar. P. 90) The parents named him after the God of their adoration. Gunda, when Narasiṃha had attained majority installed him on the throne of Chandragiri and retired to the forest for penance. Sāluva Narasiṃha thereafter sent his agents, as we see from Appendix B, to the several places between the Cauvery and Kāñchi to enlist, perhaps the people's sympathy on his side, for it was this tract that had been much damaged by the invasion of Hammira Kumāra Mahāpātro, the general of Kapilēśvara Deva. The supervision of the Orissa governor might have been a little relaxed and the people showed greater attachment to their native ruler. The agents having thus succeeded to recruit men to the Sāluva flag, advised their chief to proceed against Udayagiri, the chief strong hold of the Gajapatis in the south. They said that if that fort was taken there would be nothing to obstruct him on that side (*ibid*). It may be noted from the inscriptions (Appendix B) that the repairs of the temples damaged at the time of *Oddiyan galabhi* were not undertaken till October 1470 A. D. An inscription in Tirupati intimates that worship was held in the Govindarāja temple by Mahamandalesvara Narasinga-deva Maharasu (Appendix B No. 7) in *Saka 1389, Sarvajit Pushya Sudi; Sunday* corresponding to

11 December 1467, Sunday. It was usual for rulers to adore their family god before they lead an expedition and also after their safe return home. After this date, Narasiṅga Rāya started to attack the Udayagiri fortress. It may be observed in the records that the Sāluva army commenced its operations from January, 1468. Though his goal was Udayagiri, yet he had to capture the Oriya military camps stationed between Chandragiri and Udayādri. Dakṣiṇa Kapilēśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra, the governor of the territory south of Kondavidu fort, on hearing of the approach of the enemy, might have marched south to obstruct the progress of the hostile army till reinforcements arrived from the far removed Cuttack, whither he might have despatched messengers to inform the king of Orissa of the proceedings of the Sāluva army. Just a few miles from Udayagiri he might have fought a battle with the enemy, but unable to resist the vast numbers he might have lost it and receded into the fort for a waiting game till the arrival of help from home.

इतावशिष्टैश्च गजैरगात्पुं कलिङ्गराजो युधि खण्डितादरः ।

The Rājā of Kalinga, with the survivors of the Gajapati army (*gajaiḥ*) entered into the city (Udayagiri) as he was defeated. (The Rājā of Kalinga should be understood to mean only the governor of the Orissa territory; and *gajaiḥ* refer to the warriors of the Gajapati army but not to elephants). Then the Sāluva Chief besieged the hill fortress (Udayagiri) employing all kinds of machines to fell down the ramparts.

सशैलदुर्गं तपनावरोधकृत् विशालसालं बहुयन्त्रसाधनम् ।

Sāluvābhyudayam from which the above lines are quoted says that Narasiṃharāya broke the fort-walls and entered the fort. *Varāha-purāṇam* by Nandi Mallayya and Ghanta Singayya gives the credit to Īśvaranāyaka the generallissimo of Sāluva Narasiṃha.

At this time no mention of the sovereign of Vijayanagar is made. The exploits of his *Maha--arasu* or *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Narasiṃha deva are narrated. For, taking advantage of the very disturbed state of affairs at the centre and the quarrel of Virūpāksha, the last of the first dynasty that had been the rulers of Vijayanagar, with the Sultan of Bijapur, Sāluva Narasiṃha began to make himself powerful to usurp the Vijayanagara throne ultimately. Not knowing these facts some historians contend to justify Vidyanagar mentioned in *Chaitanya*

Charitāmṛtam as the one invaded by Purushottama to be the same as Vijayanagar. They hold that the king of Vidyanagar that was defeated by Purushottama was Virūpāksha. The reliable records secured till now affirm that the war had been between the Rājā of Chandragiri and the Gajapati sovereign for the possession of the Udayagiri territory. The Vidyanagar named in the *Charitāmṛtam* must be understood to refer to the southern Country generally. Men at a distance cannot be able to differentiate the parts of a well known whole Kingdom. Even Rajamundry was called so in one place (*Chaitanya's Pilgrimages and teachings by J. N. Sircar Ch. VI, P. 8*). Similarly the whole territory under the Gajapati was Kaliṅga and every centre of provincial Government was a Cuttack to the Southerners. In the footnote of Ch. V of *Madhyalīlā, Chaitanya Charitāmṛtam*, the editor explains Vidyanagar to refer to Kāñchi on the banks of the Cauvery. Perhaps he does not know that Kāñchi is more than one hundred miles to the north of the river Cauvery. When such is the geographical lore of the present day writers, how can the ancient poets solely devoted to *religion* and *bhakti* be expected to mention places in distant land with precision and exactitude? Historians that try to find the truth must investigate correctly and weigh each finding in the balance of reasoning and chronology before any result they arrive at is launched into the world.

Though *Sāluvābhyudayam* says that Narasimhadeva had entered the fortress of Udayagiri yet Nuniz, a Portuguese writer at Goa, records that 'King Narasiṅga was never able to take Rachol (Raichur) and Udayagiri and Conadoly (Kondavid.).' The records of the Gajapatis examined till now corroborate Nuniz's statement.

The Gajapati Ruler on receiving the information of the expedition of Sāluva Narasimharāya collected a prodigious army and marched south

डोलायते भूः स्म चमूभरेण यस्य

(*Idupulapadu, M. E. R. 1922 No 802.*)

By the weight of the army the whole earth rocked (to and fro)

यस्मै नित्यतर प्रतापदहन ज्वालायमानध्वज -

स्तम्बा बद्धकुसुम्वरक्तवसनप्रेक्षाविभ्रमद्विपे (*Anantavaram*)

4. The first Vidyanagara dynasty was tottering on its throne and was shortly after replaced by the second dynasty (*M. M. Chakravarty, J. A. S. B, Vol. LXIX, Part 1, No 2, 1900, P. 184*)

His enemies became confused at the sight of the blood-red (cloth) flags tied on high posts which looked like flames of fire generated by his incessant exhibition of valour.

Thus marching Vira Śrī Purushottama Gajapati surprised the Sāluva chief before the ramparts of the hill fortress. Taken between the defenders of the fort on one side and the reinforcements brought by the Gajapati behind, Sāluva Narasimha, however hard he fought fell captive into the hands of the Orissa Sovereign. With folded hands and praying with humble submission, Sāluva surrendered all claim to the Udayagiri territory.

जीवग्राह मति प्रगृह्य समरे कर्णाट भूमीधवं
दीनोक्तेः प्रवणं नृसिहमनुजाधीशं पुनस्त्यक्तवान् ।
(*Sarasvatī Vilāsam*, P. 7. Verse 22 -- B कोशाख)
सन्धायाभययाचनांजनिमही दत्त्वोदयाद्रिस्थाना-

दात्मानं मुमुचे नृसिहनृपतिः कर्णाटदेशाधिपः ॥ (*Anantavaram*)

Narasimha is called *Narapati* in one and *manujādhīśa* in the second verse. *Narapati* was the general name to the rulers of Vijayanagar, as the Sultans of Bijapur were called the *Aśvapatis* and the rulers of Orissa were *Gajapatis*.

The above verses clearly give the name of the country of the ruler, against whom the Gajādhīśa went as well as the territory for which he had fought. In the face of such clear evidence, how can it be possible to say the war was against Vijayanagar the king of which was Virūpaksha ? The verses also tell us that Purushottama got back his Udayagiri but no mention is made therein of the territory extending from Kāñchi to Kavery. Thereby it appears that the king of Orissa left all claim to the whole country south of Kāñchi. Sāluva Narasimha became the master of it. That was the reason why the temples in several places in that territory were ordered to be repaired in inscriptions all dated uniformly on 13 October 1470 A. D. (*App. B Nons. 14, 15. etc.*)

5 All these inscs. say that the temples fell into ruins, lands were deserted, tanks became useless and villages became vacated during *Oddiyan galabai*, i. e. the disturbances caused by the invasion of the Oriyas. There seems to be no truth in it ; for the Oriyas also are Hindus and as such have reverence for the Hindu gods. Dakṣiṇa Kapileśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra not only instituted a bhoga in the name of his father but ordered repairs to some temples (M. E. R. 1919 Nos. 51, 92 Mannur

Another inscription dated 15th October 1470 A. D. (*App. B. No. 17*) intimates that worship in a temple was conducted in the name of Narasinga Udayar. It may be inferred from these that *Peace of Udayagiri* was agreed to by both the parties in the beginning of October. 1470 A. D.

It may be also deduced that on the side of the Gajapatis many warriors had died and one of them might be Dakṣiṇa Kapileśvara Kunara Mahāpātra. The main basis for such an assumption is the report in the court of Bijapore in A. D. 1470 of the death of Principal Rāya of Telingana. He might have given up his life to his lord and county fighting bravely against the enemy. As the Sāluvas were engaged in getting repaired the damages caused in their country by the *Oddas*, The Gajapati King must have remained in Udayagiri getting the ramparts and other damages repaired and appointing new warriors in places vacated by death. Though none of the eulogistical works that record the glories of Sāluva Narasimha Deva make mention of his expedition against and siege of Rajamundry, some scholars hold it as a fact because *Burhani-i-Ma'asir* has some such record. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar writes, "Sāluva Narasimha's first service to his empire was the beating back of the enemy right up to Rajamundry where the Bahmani Sultan-Mahammad found him strongly entrenched in one of his campaigns." If the events gathered from the records are studied in chronological order, the so-called Narasimha's expedition against Rajamundry proves to be a myth.

"In 1470 A. D. Mukh dumah, the Queen mother died, and the Sultan assumed the reins of government.

In the midst of these affairs a messenger arrived from Telingana and informed the Sultan that the Raya of Orissa, who was the Principal Raya of Telingana was dead." (*Burhan - i Ma'asir*)

We have surmised above that the death of the Principal Raya of Telingana might have happened at Udayagiri before October 1470 A.D. When the news reached the Court of the Bahmani Sultan, the whole court and the Sultan must have been very busy with the funerals of the

S. Arcot Dist.) *vide* extracts given in Appentix C. In the face of these it is impossible to rely on the so-called *Oddiyan galabvi*. They conquered the country to rule and be profited but not to devastate and sack it,

Queen Mother and the festivities connected with the assumption of the reins of government by Sultan Mahammad Shah II. Allowing sufficient time to conclude all these ceremonies, it may be supposed that the Sultan, making up his mind for the invasion of Telingana, invested Malik Nizam-ul-mulk Bahri with a new robe of honour and sent him against that country in the beginning of the year A. D. 1471.

"When the base infidels of those parts heard of the approach of the royal army they assembled an army more numerous than ants and locusts in the midst of heat like the flames of hell and came to oppose the army of the Islam." (*Burhan*)

Here we are informed of the time of invasion to be summer. The District of Guntur (*Telingana*) in which Kondavid is located has very hot summer from the beginning of March. In the *heat like flames of hell* of summer of A. D. 1471 the expedition against Telingana was undertaken. Then it is said that the Mahammadan commander having routed the infidels, marched to Rajamundry; taking it, he came back to Kondavid (*Burhan*). Were he really succesful in his first attempt against Telingana? Should he not remain there occupying it and settling a strong military territory in the middle of the Orissa empire? The very statement that 'the infidels gathered an army like ants and locusts' shows that, seeing that prodigious army, Bahri ran away towards Rajamundry, thither the army followed him; thence again he came back to Kondavid, the Orissan stronghold in Telingana. There again he was confronted by the formidable army. Purushottama Gajapati was only at Udayagiri and thence he might have directed and kept his armies in all the strongholds vigilant and active. Therefore the statement of *Burha-i-Ma'asir* that the Islam commander was successful at every place may be considered as 'myth'; Bahri might have been compelled to submit and retire to his Sultan. Perhaps the *Hammira maharipu* said to have been subdued in the verse

यो हम्मीरमहारिपुं समतनोत्पादाज्जपीठान्तम्

may be taken to refer to the submission of Bahri who had become an 'Amir' by the investment of a new robe by the Sultan before he was despatched against Telingana. 'Amir' is made 'Hammira' in Sanskrit, Hammira seems to have been a title current amongst the Mahammadans also. M. M. Chakravarti says, 'Hammira was a title of

the Sultan of Delhi' and refers to. Thos. Chron. of Path. kings, P. 15 etc., Now, so the name of the great warrior Hammira, might have been adapted to mean a great warrior. To support our conclusion that it was the Islam army under Bahri that had been defeated, there is an inscription (*App. A. No. 10*) dated, Wednesday, 14 October 1472 A. D. that records a gift of 300 *tankas* to the god by Vīra Śrī Gajapati Gaudēśvara Pratāpa Śrī Purushottama Deva Mahārāja for having achieved his hearts' desire. What else might have been heartily desired by an emperor but the triumph over a formidable foe? The trouble with the Mahammadans appear to have ended by the month of October 1472.

Burhan-i-Ma'asir narrates another invasion of Rajamundry by the Sultan himself in A. D. 1474. "When they arrived in the neighbourhood of the fortress of Rajamundry, they saw an immense city on the farther side of which Narasiṅga Rāya with 70,000 cursed infantry and 500 elephants like mountains of iron, had taken his stand.' The Mahammadan historian who is so very precise in the number of infantry and the elephants does not mention anything about the nationality of this Narasiṅga Rāya. Yet Dr. S. K. Aiyangar ventures to identify him with the Sāluva chief of Karnata (*Sources of the history of Vijayanagar, P. 7*). Such a large number of elephants was not possessed by the Sāluva chief. *Sāluvābhyudayam* does not mention the expedition to Rajamundry. The fact that all the places from Udayagiri to Rajamundry were well guarded by the Orissan garrisons should not be lost sight of before we assume that it was the Sāluva chief that was found entrenched at the fort of Rajamundry. Might it not be possible

6 Hammira was such a great warrior that he had foiled the attempts of Alla-uddin Khilji against Rathambore. It is no wonder if it became a significant epithet for any warrior. Mr. P. Mukherjee quotes from *Mādālā Panji* an Oriya passage the translation of which he gives as follows (*I. H. Q. Vol. XXI, No. 1, P. 37. n. 3*): "I have got many Hammira Rayas, i. e. sons. To whom do you order me to leave my throne The messenger gave this information. "Hammira"—Madala-Fanji. Prachi edition - PP. 46-47. "The Oriya passage appears to mean, 'There are many warriors for me (to fight). To whom do you give this earth (*Prithvi*)'" Kapileśvara had to fight with many warriors to acquire an empire. He might have prayed to his god to intimate him of all those chiefs to whom he ordained that rulership of the country. *Hammira Rāya*' is taken to mean 'a son'. Where is the authority?

7 Sāluvābhyudayam mentions that the Kalinga Raja possessed many elephants.

अशङ्कमकरये कलिङ्गराजः करिभिर्विशङ्क लैः । (Canto) IV.)

to identify him with the Orissan governor (mahāpātra) of Rajamundry. Is not Rāya, Oriya? That the Oriya governor at Rajamundry had a very large army under him had been already pointed out (*J. B. R. S. Vol. XXI, Part III, P. 183 II, 17-21*) Narasiṅga and Narasiṁha were names assumed generally by the Oriyas of that period. In the year 1491 A. D. was one Behara Mahāpātra Narasiṅgadāsa the *Poriccha* of *Kaliṅga Daṇḍa-Pattha* (Potnuru to Siṃhāchalam) (*App. A. No 19*). It might be possible to assume that the *mahā-patra* at Rajamundry was a Narasiṅga Rāya about the year A. D. 1474 Rāya is a nomenclature generally applied by the Mahammadans to all the Provincial governors in the empire of the Gajapatis. No inscription has yet been found recording any event between A. D. 1472 and A. D. 1474 that had happened in Karnata or in Orissan kingdom. The Muslim invasion of Rajamundry we may conclude, had fared as their previous expeditions against the Gajapatis had resulted or that the whole story was a myth.

Now comes the consideration of the tradition of *Kāñchī - kāverī*. This is solely connected with the event of the defeat of Sāluva Narasiṁha by the Gajapati King. Those that have previously dealt with the History of the Forgotten Empire or of the Obscured Empire of the Gajapatis do not seem to have studied this question with unprejudiced minds.

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar calls, on 'P. 6 of his *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, ' *Kanji-kaveri - Pothi* ' a dramatic romance written to claim on behalf of the Gajapati successful advance as far as Kāñchī. Yet T.C. Rath had gone, relying on this story, to the extent of identifying Padmāvatī, the heroine princess of Kāñchī, of the romance with Rupāmbikā, the wife of Puruṣhottama and mother of Pratāpa Rudra Gajapati. Mr. P. Mukherjee, in his learned article *Kāñchī-kāverī Tradition* published in I. H. Q. brings in all kinds of traditions to establish that the story was an historical fact. He says,

' We find Pictorial representation of the Kāñchī-Kāverī expedition on a wall of the audience hall of the temple of Jagaranātha. In the *Bedā Parikrāma* (' *A walk around the Sacred enclosure*) written by Balarāma Dāsa in the reign of Pratāparudra (1497-1540 A. D.) we come across the following lines :—

"After visiting this, you will find the representations of the two brothers galloping valiantly towards Kāñchī-Kāverī on the wall of the Jagamohana." In the footnote 15, the two brothers are explained to be *Jagannātha* and *Balarāma*.

Before we give credence to the identification of the two sculptures of horse-riders by the translator of the *Rāmāyaṇa* into Oriyā, the time of the erection and completion of the temple is to be considered. M. M. Chakravarti in his article, '*The date of the Jagannātha Temple in Puri, Orissa* (*J. A. S. B., L. XXV, Part 1, No 2, 1498, P. 328f*) says in conclusion (1) that the present temple of Jagannātha was built under the orders of Chodaganga of the Gaṅga dynasty; (2) that it existed by about 1090 A.D. and might have been built between 1085-90 A. D. The same scholar, on the authority of *Mādalā Pañji* says (*J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX, Part 1, No 2 1900, P. 184*) this king (Purushottama Deva) erected the Bhogamaṇḍapa. From these it seems that the whole temple with all its *maṇḍapas* were built between A. D. 1085-90 and the 7th anka (A. D. 1470-71) of Purushottama Deva. The *Kāñchī-Kāverī* expedition did not occur during this time. We have seen above that the war with Sāluva Nara-simha was closed by October 1470. It is in the *Beda Parikrāma* that the figures of the two horse-men are said to exist. This *Beda Parikrāma* must have come into existence with the sacred shrine itself. Can it be possible for any stone-cutter, however capable he might be, to emboss images on stones already fixed in the wall? The *Bhaktas* in their fantasy see gods and divine spirits in every figure, dead or alive, they find. We read in *Chaitanyacharitāmṛtam*, that Chaitanyasvāmī-embraced the son of Pratāpa Rudra Deva that he was Śrī Krishṇa. Can we infer from this that the prince's name was Krishṇa? With due reverence and regard to the *Bhakta* Balarāmadāsa, I may be permitted to say what he had said in this respect does not stand as an historical authority to affirm that the story of Kāñchī-Kāverī was a fact.

Mādalā Pañji is cited as an authority for this episode. But Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda who had personally examined the Ms. says, "(*J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. XIII, Pt. I, P. 14*) 'the sections relating to the Pre-Mogul Period of these texts were first compiled in the Mogul period. A strong evidence in regard to the late origin of the Pre-Mogul sections of the *Mādalā Pañji* is their general unreliability.' In the

concluding portion of the paper (P. 27) he says, " Bhavānī Charan has recorded that in the second aṅka or the first year of the reign of Rāmachandra Deva of Khurda, the Raja ordered Vatesvar Mahanti to compile the annals. This statement seems to be substantially true. The annals were probably compiled for the first time in the beginning of the reign of Rāmachandra Deva " " M. M. Chakravarti expresses his doubt of 'the few details given in the Madala Panji taken up mainly in describing an expedition of this King (Purushottama Deva) into Kāñchī.' He expresses his doubt in "if there be any truth in it" (J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX, Part 1, No. 2, 1900, P. 184)

The *Chaitanyacharitāmṛtam* was narrated a few years after the reign of Purushottama Deva. The anecdote why the image of Gopāla at Vidyānagar became known as 'Sākshī Gopāla', how it came to Cuttack, and how the *Māṇikya-Simhāsana* was brought to Puri, was given in canto 5 of the *Madhyatīlā*. It says, ' the Rāja of Utkala, Purushottama Deva, invaded Vidyānagar and defeated the King of that country in battle and took his throne '*Māṇikya-Simhāsana*' (the jewelled throne) of many gems. Purushottama was a great *bhakta*. He fell on the feet of the image of 'Sākshī Gopāla and begged him to come to his Kingdom. The god, Gopāla came to Cuttack and the jewelled throne was given to Jagannātha of Puri. The idol of ' Sākshī-Gopāla ' was installed in a temple (Specially constructed) for its worship at Cuttack. The queen went to the temple for *darśana* and in devotion gave all her jewels to decorate the image. She said, in remorse, ' O god ! this slave wishes to adorn your nose with this pearl but there is no hole in it'. Thus sorrowing she returned to the palace and went to bed. In the last quarter of the night, Gopāla appeared in her dream and said, "in my childhood my mother bored a hole in my nose and hung a pearl thereon with great effort. That hole still exists there. If you so desire, you may hang your pearl-pendant on it. Immediately she woke up and told the King of her dream, The King and the queen with the pearl, went in a great procession to the temple and lo ! to their joy found the hole and put the pearl thereon ".

The narrator mentions the conquest of the Vidyānagar country and the bringing of the *Māṇikya-simhāsana* ; but does not even suggest the capture of the princess which is made so much of; he does not give the name of the queen, though he shows no delicacy to state that

the queen informed the king (in the bedroom) of her dream. If there were any, even a speck of truth in the captivity of the princess of Chandragiri, it would not have escaped the author of the *Charitāmṛtam*. The episode of the 'Māṇikyā-simhāsana' and of the image of *Sākshī-Gopāla* cannot be said to be untrue, for the latter still exists in the village of Satyabadi. The former cannot be presumed to exist now as *Kālāpāhār* who carried away even the images, must be expected to have carried away the *jewelled-throne*, as Nadir Shah in later times took away the *Peacock-throne* at Delhi.

Saluvabhyudayam and other works written in praise of the Karnata Chief cannot be expected to record the princes's captivity as they did not mention the defeat of the chief at the hands of the Gajapati ruler. In none of the elaborate descriptions of his father's and his own achievements recorded in his Copper plate or stone charters, of Pratāpa Rudra Gajapati, not even a thought of the abduction and marriage of the Saluva princess with his father is given; nor is any mention of it made in his *Sarasvatīvilāsam*. Kaviḍiṇḍima Jivadēvāchārya did not describe this event of bringing the princess of Kāñchī in the *prastāvi* at the end of his *Bhakti Bhāgavata kāvya*. Lastly Nuniz, the Portuguese historian at Goa might have recorded if he had, even by rumour, heard of this romantic story. *Sarasvatīvilāsam* names Rūpāmbikā as the wife of Purushottama Gajapati and mother of Pratāpa Rudra Gajapati.

With T. C. Rath let us agree to say that Rūpāmbikā of the *Sarasvatīvilāsam* and Padmāvatī of the *romance* were identical. She

8 J. B. and O. R. S. Vol. XIII Pt. 1. P. 23, extract from Jarret's *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol. II, P. 128.

9 R. D. Banerjee says 'the stone altar of Jagannadha contains the bizarre arabesque of the decadent, Hoyasala type, which one sees in the temple of Hazara-Ramaswami at Hampi or Vijayanagara' Did Purushottama Gajapati think it worth-while to bring a heavy stone sculpture all the distance from Karnata to Puri? It must have been if at all it was a gold one decorated with precious stones. With regard to the nomenclature of the thrones the following is interesting. The throne of Vidyānagara (Chandragiri) was *māṇikyā-simhāsana*; of Krishṇadeva Rāya at Vijayanagar (Hampi) was *Ratnasimhāsana*; of Sāluva Narasimharāya at Vijayanagar (Hampi) was *Vajra-simhāsana*; Pratāpa Rudra Gajapati at Udayagiri was *Simhāsane-Ratnabodhite* (if at all).

might have been named Padmāvatī by her parents and renamed Rūpāmbikā in Orissa as she was very beautiful. Let us examine the names of the ladies of the aristocratic families of the south at that time if they would vouchsafe our assumption. It is well known that Krishnadevarāya's wives were Annapūrṇa and China ; his mother was Nagladevī. Narasimhadeva Rāya's mother was Mallāmbikā. Bukka-mmā was the wife of Īsvara-nāyaka (*M. E. R. 1914, No 195*) Thus many names of the women of the south have been studied and found not even one of them was Padmāvatī. So our assumption is proved unsupported.

Considered from all standpoints the tradition of Kāñchi-Kāverī proves to be a romance and to be devoid of any historical value except that Purushottama Gajapati led an expedition and defeated the Raja of Chandragiri popularly known as Kāñchi. The character of Purushottama, as will be shown later on, does not permit to attribute such an unchivalrous behaviour towards a princess of a family as noble as that of his. When he left free Sāluva Narasimha that had fallen into his hands, how can it be even imagined that such a noble king had showed heartlessness and vengeance on a virtuous helpless royal damsel ?

Having established peace with Saluva Narasimhadeva Rāya o Karnata and having subdued the general of the Bahmani Sultan, the Gajapati ruler consolidated the empire secured for him by his father. The whole empire remained intact under him and not an inch of it he did lose. The *Anantavaram copper plate Grant* says, 'Where the earth being faithful like pious wife, yielded gold with the firmness of a mountain'

॥ वसुधरा यत्र वसूपमे दधौ महीधरस्येपतिव्रता विधिम् ।

From the Potavaram grant dated A. D. 1489 (E. I, Vol. XIII no. 12) that gives a land in charity to some Brāhmins, we learn that Purushottama Gajapati was exercising sway over the territory now called the Nellore District. Purushottama Gajapati gave to certain Brāhmins, the village of Ganti in the Godavary District by means of a copper plate grant dated Śaka 1411 or A. D. 1489 (*M. E. R. 1900, Part II, Page 25 Para. 65*) *Māgha-mahātmyamu*, a Telugu prabandha (*A Triennial Catalogue of Mss, Madras Mss Library, Vol. III, R. No. 409*) states that the patron of the author lived in Purushottamapaṭṭana founded by Vira Purushottama Gajapati who ruled the country from his stronghold

(kataka) on the elevation to the east of Kondapalli. A feeding house at Draksharama was started in A. D. 1494 by order of this Gajapati sovereign.

Two copper axe-head grants are discovered in Orissa. One was edited by T. C. Rath long ago in some Oriya magazine which I recently lost sight of. The second is published in the *J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. IV, December 1918, No. 1*. The inscriptions in the temples and other places record the gifts of the King or of his time. All these show his disposition to charitable deeds. He says in his *Nāma-mālika*,

वित्तं वेदविदे व्यतारि विधिवद् द्व्यर्पणन्यायत :

According to the maxim of delivering to the Creator (*Brahma*), wealth must be distributed to the Brāhmins versed in the Vedas,

Again in verse 5 of the same work,

धन्या धर्मधुरन्धरेण धरणी तेनोद्धृ लोकाधिका.

By the bearers of the heavy deeds of religious merit, the earth is lucky, for by that it becomes superior to the upper world,

The charities enumerated above affirm that Purushottama was a very generous and kind hearted ruler. They also prove that his empire extended from the mouth of the Ganges in the north to the River Palar in the south along the coast of the Bay of Bengal. Yet the Mahammadan historians recorded that the Bahmani Sultan defeated him in several engagements and occupied parts of his empire. Their aim appears to give all glory of victory to the rulers of their faith and heap defeat and ignominy on the ruler of the 'base infedels', the Hindus, Anantavaram copper plate grant certifies, that the prowess of this Gajapati King incessantly shone without fading.

दिवानिशं तस्य महीश्वरस्य प्रतापमानौ परिदीव्यमाने ।

नाकापगायां नलिनानि नित्यं नातिप्रफुल्लन्ति न कुङ्कुमलन्ति ॥

Two chief phases of Purushottama Gajapati-valor and generosity-are expounded above. His scholarship in Sanskrit, the third that makes him greater is now described. He entertained learned men in his court and took great delight in holding pleasant and sweet literary discussions with them

वीर श्रीपुरुषोत्तमो गजपति : विद्वत्सभाभ्यन्तरे

शेषोर्विक्रमिणं कथासु नितरां शेषोहि भूषोविभुः॥ *Sarasvatī vilāsam*)

and तस्य श्रीपुरुषोत्तमो क्षितिपतेशशक्या कथं वणिक्तुं ।

विद्वद्भ्यः किमुदा (?) हंसाधिपतिना विक्रान्तविद्वत्कमा॥ (*Idupulapaau*)

and these drinking the nectar of poetry from his mouth did not care for real nectar (*Bhakti Bhāgavata*).

In the first verse *śesha--hi--bhushah* appears to suggest that a *pandita* by name *Śesha* became the jewel (in the court) of the king. From the *Bhakti Bhāgavata* we learn that Kavirāj Trilochana born in the family of Gopāla was the spiritual guide of this Gajapati. The discourses in these literary councils were not of romantic compositions (prabandha type) or of subjects of mundane interest. They seemed to have had speeches about God, His glorious deeds, mercy and love. That such must have been the subjects of speech in the royal court can be called from the few works of this royal-poet that have come to us. In *Chaitanya Charitāmṛta* it is said, that Purushottama Gajarat was a *bhakta*. It is this *bhakti* he pours out in his works. Gajapati Purushottama.... with equal facility pleased both Lakshmī and Sarasvatī (*Bhakti Bhāgavata Mahākāvya*).

Nāmamālikā which has already been mentioned, is the first of his compositions. In it he says that he had gathered from about 67 books of Sanskrit literature like the *purāṇas*, *itihāsas*, *tantras*, etc, the statements regarding the efficacy of uttering the Divine name. From *Brahmapurāṇa* he quotes :---

अप्यन्यचित्ताशुद्धोवा यः सदा कीर्तयेद्धरिम्
सोपि दोषक्षयान्मुक्तिं लभेच्चैदिपतिर्यया ॥

End

सकृच्चदुरितं येन हरेर्नामचिदात्मकम्,
फलं नास्य क्षमो वक्तुं सहस्रवदनो विधिः ॥

Colophon : -- इति श्रीगजपति पुरुषोत्तम संगृहीता नामावलिका समाप्ता ।

(*Descriptive catalogue of sanskrit Mss with A. S. B. Vol. VII-kavya Mss. No 5714.*)

In the same catalogue no. 5180 is *Abhinava Gita Govinda* by the same royal author. It is as spirited as the *Gita Govinda* of Jaya-deva. It consists of ten cantos and at the end of the last canto is the following Colophon :--

इति श्रीपुरुषोत्तमदेवगजपातिमहाराजकृते अभिनवगीतगेविन्दे महाकाव्ये स्वाधीन
भर्तृकावर्णने सानन्दमुकुन्दो नाम दशमः सर्गः ।

Muktichintāmaṇi the third work is said to have been published and his fourth work Durgotsava is said to be well known. I did not see these two and could not secure their copies.

Purushottamadeva Gajapati seems to have encouraged temple-construction. The Bhoga-maṇḍapa in the Puri Temple is said to have been constructed by him. He is also said to have built the inner wall and the cooking rooms of the temple (*M. M. Chakravarti*). The munificent Gajapati Purushottama having whitened the world with his fame, and having reigned for thirty years died on the banks of Chitrotpala (*Bhakti Bhāgavata*.)

In these pages we have studied the glorious achievements in wars of Purushottama Gajapati, his generous character and his learning and wisdom. It is very deplorable to find that such a warrior of warriors, donor amongst donors, poet amongst the poets, *bhakta* amongst the *bhaktas* consigned to obscurity and evil tradition. More it is when that tradition discolours him with illegitimate birth; unchivalrous and ruthless treatments of a noble princess whose family had as much reverence and glory as his own. As Ramaprasad Chanda said, 'what was the reason for this belief, what is the substratum of fact underlying the stories, it is now difficult to determine.' But when truth and fact are found one cannot resist dropping tears seeing into what oblivion such great persons are plunged. His success in arms, generosity and charitable deeds, his noble treatment of enemies, his learning and lore and above all his mind centred always in God, are all given to dull forgetfulness !!!

I cannot adequately close this paper without offering my heartfelt gratitude to the Mahārāj Vikrama Deo Varma Bahadur of Jeypore who helped me in all ways to secure the information required to write this whole history. He bought books for me or obtained them on loan from libraries ; he helped me, by his lore and exprience to tackle reasonably, the questions connected with history or with the expeosition of literary passages in Sanskrit, Telugu or Oriyā.

**Appendix A.—Surya Vamsi Kings of Orissa II—Purushottama Deva Gajapati
A. D. 1466-7 to A. D. 1437-38.**

No.	Reference.	Anka.	Date as given in the record.	Date in Xian Era.	Remarks.
1	S. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 703	2	Anka 2 Srahi Mina Su 15 Sunday.	A. D. 1467 March 20, Sunday.	The brother of Kannu Murali Mahapatra, son of Suma Murali Mahapatra installed the image of Hanuman at the Hanumadvara of Simhachalam.
2	J. A. S. B. Vol. LXII, 1893 Jagannatha temple Right Side, No. 1.	2	Anka 2 Mesha Su 12 Thursday.	A. D. 1467 April 16, Thursday.	
3	Ibid, Left Side No. 1	3	Anka 3, Maragasira kr. 13 Tuesday.	A. D. 1467 Nov. 25, Tues.	
4	S. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 1160	3	Samasta 3 Srahi, Mithuna 4 Su 13 Friday.	A. D. 1467 June 3, Friday.	
5	Ibid. Vol. V, No. 1247	7	Saka 1392 anka 7 Asvija Su 1, Tuesday.	A. D. 1470 September 25, Tuesday.	Pratāpa Sarvajña Devendra son of Bodraju of Polakonda is the donor.
6	Ibid, Vol. VI, No. 895 last lines.	7	Samasta 7, Srahi Kanya kr. 13 Monday.	A. D. 1470 September 23, Monday.	The week day should be Sunday.
7	Ibid, Vol. V, No. 1153	7	Samasta 7, Srahi Ashadha Su 2 Thursday Saka 1393.	A. D. 1471 June 20, Thurs.	
8	Ibid, Vol. VI, No. 895	7	Samasta 7, Srahi Kakada di 5 Thursday.	A. D. 1471 July 21, Thurs.	
9	Ibid, Vol. V, No. 1248	7	Saka 1393, khara Samvat-sara chaitra bala Ravivare	A. D. 1471 March 17th, Sunday.	The donor is the same as in no. 5 above.

No.	Reference.	Anka	Date as given in the record.	Date in Xian Era.	Remarks.
10	Ibid, Vol. VI, No. 844	10	Saka 1394 Nandana Samvatsara Kartika Su. 13 Budhavare.	A. D. 1472 October 14th Wednesday.	300 Tankas were given to the God of Simbacholam for having attained his hearts desire, by Vira Sri Gajapati Gaudesvara 1 ratapa Sri-Purushottama Deva Maharaja. Rekumalla Kumāra Guru Mahāpātra flourished in the time of the Kshitipati Purushottama Gajapati.
11	Ibid, Vol. VI, No. 803	10	Saka 1394 Nandana kr. 13 Budhavare.	A. D. 1472 October 14th Wednesday.	Donor was Kumāra Guru Mahāpātra.
12	Ibid, Ibid, No. 1159	12	Samasta 12 Srāhi Kakada 2 Su Sunday.	A. D. 1476 June 30, Sunday.	
13	J. A. S. B, Vol. LXII 1893 Jagannātha Temple Right Side No 4.	19	Anka 19 Simha 8 Thursday	A. D. 1482 August 7, Tuesday.	The week day does not agree.
14	M. E. R. 1935-36, App. B. No 226.	23	Saka 1406, Krodhi, Kartika Su 15 Lunar eclipse.	A. D. 1484 November 3, Wednesday.	The lunar eclipse occurred on Kartika 15 of S. 1405. The donor was Azam Khana entitled Sāmanta Rāya Mahāpātra.
15	S. I. I, Vol. IV No. 653	24	Samvatsarambulu 1407 nenti Viśvāvasu Samvatsara mārgasīra ba. 3 Thursday	A. D. 1485 October 27th, Thursday.	
16	Ibid, Ibid, No. 908.	28	Samasta 28 Srāhi Mithuna 2 Su 3 Sunday	Irregular.	

No.	Reference.	Anka	Date as given in the record.	Date in Xian Era.	Remarks.
17	M. E. R. 1900, Part II, P. 25, Para. 65	29	Saka 1411	A. D. 1489	No details of the date are given. The Village Ganti (Goda-vary District) was given to some Brahmans in the time of Purushottama Gajapati.
18	E. I. Vol. XIII, No. 12 Potavaram. (Nellore), Copper Plate Grant.	29	Saka varshambulu 1412 agunenti Saunya Samvat-sara Kartika Su 15 Kri-tika-yoga-Vijaya rajya-Samvatsarambulu Vani trisa anka.	A. D. 1489 November 7 Sat.	
19	S. I. I. Vol. VI No. 1163	31	Samasta 31 anka Srahi Simha Su 8 Sani.	A. D. 1491 August 13 Saturday.	Behara Mahapatra Narasimha-dasa Mahapatra was the <i>Pori-echa of Kalinga Dandapāṭika</i>
20	Ibid, Vol. IV, No. 1162	34	Samasta (3) 4 Simha Sukla.	A. D. 1464 August	The inscription is much damaged. A charitable feeding house was established at Draksh-arama by one who bore the title <i>Bhujal bala Parakrama</i> .
21	Ibid, Vol. V, No. 1152	35	Samasta 35 anke Srahi Bic-cha Sankranti Suri gyuvara	A. D. 1494 October 30, Thursday	
22	Ibid, Ibid, No. 1229	37	Samasta 37 Saka 1417 Rāk-shasa Samvatsara Karti-ka Su 13 Samivare.	A. D. 1495 October 31, Saturday.	
23	M. E. R. 1916 App. B. No. 469.	37	Saka 1418 Nala Vaisakha Su (11).	A. D. 1496 April 3, Mon-day.	Sarevepalli Timmareddi, the donor is entitled Hinduraya Suratrana.
24	S. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 1162	38	Samasta 38 Srahi Masha Su 1. Monday.	A. D. 1497 April 3, Monday	This is the last year of the King.

Appendix B.—Saluva Narasimha Raya of Chandragiri Rajya
(The date and the week day in col. are approximate.)

No.	Reference.	His titles.	Date as given in the record.	Date in Xian Era.	Remarks.
1	M. E. R. 1921 No. 141.	Saluva Narasinga-deva Maharaya.	Saka 1379 Isvara, Adi 20.	A. D. 1457 July 19 Tuesday	Sangam Udaya Nayana, the agent of Isvara Nayaka the <i>dalaraya</i> of Saluva Narasingadeva.
2	Do. 1912 No. 244 Tiruvaiyur (Chengulput).	Saluva Narasingadeva	Saka 1384 Chitrabh-anu, Tai 10 s.	A. D. 1462 Jan 7 Thursday	Isvara Nayaka was the agent of the King.
3	Do. 1919	Do.	Saka 1384 Chitrabh-anu (expired) Subh-anu, Ani 15.	A. D. 1463 June 12 Tuesday	Ecchappa Nayakar, the agent of the King.
4	Do. 1919 No. 53 Mannur (S. Arcot).	Saluva Narasingaraya Udayar.	S. 1388 Vayaya Magali 9.	A. D. 1466 Dec. 7 Sunday	Tinnarasar, the agent of Annamarasar.
5	Do. 1919 No. 82 Do.	Saluva Narasinga-devayya Maharaya.	Vayaya, Puraṭṭadi (2) 4 Sun (S. 1388).	A. D. 1466 Sep. 21 Sunday	Do. Do.
6	Do. 1919 No. 41 Do.	Saluva Narasinga-deva Maharaya.	Vyaya, Kartika 30 sun.	A. D. 1466 Nov. 7 Saturday	Do. Do.
7	Do. 1916 No. 762 Trupat (N. A.)	Mahamandalesvara Saluva Narasingayya Udayat, maha-arasar.	S. 1389 Sarvasit Pushya Sudi 1 Sun.	A. D. 1467 Dec. 27 Sunday	Worship in the Govindaraya Temple.
8	Do. 1921 No. 371 Truvadi (S. A.)	Mahamandalesvara Narasingayya maharasa	S. 1391, Khara, Vaisakha Su 10	A. D. 1469 Ap. 20 Friday	Timma Nayaka, the agent of Annamarasar agent of the King.

No.	Reference.	His titles.	Date as given in the record.	Date in Xian Era	Remarks.
9	Do. 1921 No. 372 Do.	Narasingayyadeva Maha-arasu.	Vikriti Asviju Su 13 Mon.	A. D. 1470 Oct. 12 Monday.	
10	Do. 1918 No. 172 Brahmadasan (S. A.)	Saluva Narasinga Maharaya.	S. 1393 Vikriti Pan- guni 28.		S. 1393 is khara.
11	Do. 1919 No. 4 Sambodi (S. A.)	Saluva Narasingayya Maharaya	Vikriti Masal 21		
12	Do. 1925 No. 428 Tiruvalur (S. A.)	Narasingadeva Mahā- raya	Vikriti Arapasi 12	A. D. 1470 Oct. 12 Monday.	
13	Do. 1917 No. 374 Pondichery	Saluva Narasingaraya	Vikriti Phalguna Sudi Pratipad	A. D. 1470 Feb. 20	
14	Do. 1928-29 No. 297 Idayur (S. A.)	Saluva Narasinga- deva Maharaya.	S. 1393 Vikriti Arapasi 13 Trayodasi Monday	A. D. 1470 Oct. 12 Monday.	Vikriti not begun. The cyclic year should be Virodhi. The solar Aipasi ended on the 10th September at 30 after mean sunrise. So it is the 1st day. Arpasi 13 is Octo- ber 12. Trayodasi is the solar tithi in words of the figure 13.
15	Do. 1934-35 No. 111 Arkandanallur.	Do.	S. 1393 Vikriti Aipasi 13 Trayodasi Mon.	A. D. 1470 Oct. 12 Monday.	
16	Do. do. No. 213	Do.	Do.	Do.	
17	Do. 1922 No. 8 Tiru- valur.	Mahamandalesvara Narasingaraya Udayur.	S. 1392 Vikriti Aipasi, 15	A. D. 1470 Oct. 14 Tuesday	Worship conducted in the name of Narasingaraya Udai- ryar ; order issued by Ama- masar, agent to the King.

No.	Reference.	His titles.	Date as given in the record	Date in Xian Era	Remarks.
18	Do. 1936-37 No. 262 Siddhalingam.	Mahamandalesvara Narasingaraya Udayur.	S. 1393 Vikriti Aipasi, 13 Trayodasi Monday	A. D. 1470 Oct. 12 Monday	
19	Do. 1937-38 No. 416 Tiruppalaipad.	Saluva Narasingadeva Maharaja	S. 1393 Vikriti Aipasi 13 Trayodasi Monday	Do.	
20	Do. 1919. No. 118 Velur (S. A.)	Saluva Narasingaraya Udayar.	S. 1393 Khara, Makara.	A. D. 1471 Jan -Feb.	Order by Annamarasar to secure <i>tirtha vijaya</i> to the King.
21	Do. 1919. No. 310 Avur (S. A.)	Saluva Narasingadeva Maharaya.	S. 1393 Vikriti Aipasi 13 Trayodasi Monday	A. D. 1470 Oct. 12 Monday	S. 1393 should be S. 1392. All the epigraphs dated A. D. 1470 are issued by Annamarasar and mention <i>Oddiyam galabasi</i> (Vide my note on them).

(Those inscriptions that appertain to the subject are given here.)

A NOTE ON THE ODDIYAN GALLABAI

In several inscriptions copied by the Epigraphical department in south Arcot, is found the expression 'Oddiyan Gallabai' which means 'the disturbances caused by the Oriyas. These are understood to have been done during the invasion of Karnata, by Hammīra Kumāra Mahāpātra, the trusted general of Kapilesvara Deva Gajapati of Orissa (J.B.R.S. Vol. XXXI. part III, p. 179). The following are the extracts from the information in the Madras Epigraphical Reports.

M. E. R. 1919. No. 310 Avur, Tiruvannamalai, South Arcot.

Śaka 1393, Vikriti, Aippasi 13 Trayodasi, Monday
Annamarasar, agent to the King and refers to *Oddiyan gallabai*

M. E. R. 1928 No. 287 Idaiyur, Tirukkivilur, South Arcot.

Śaka 1393 Vikriti, Aippasi, 13 Trayodasi, Monday.

Assignment of taxes by Annamarasar for repairing the compound wall of the temple which had been destroyed during the trouble with the *Oddiyas*.

Do. 1934-35 No. III Arkandanallur, Tirukkoyalur, South Arcot.

Śaka 1393, Vikriti, Aippasi 13 Trayodasi, Monday.

The mandapas of temples became dilapidated during the *Oddiyan-gallabai*. Annamarasar, the agent of Saluva Narasimha deva Mahārāja made a gift of certain taxes for repairs and for the revival of worship in the temple for the merit of the king.

Do. Do. No. 223. Norkonru, Tirukkoyalur, North Arcot

Śaka 1393, Vikriti, Aippasi, 13, Trayodasi, Monday.

Devadanam holdings belonging to certain temples had become desolate and the temples and mandapas also had become dilapidated since the *Oddiyan gallabai*. Annamarasar made a remission of taxes for the restoration of worship for the merit of the king.

Do. 1936-37 No. 262, Siddhalinga-madam, Tirukkoyalur, South Arcot

Śaka 1393, Vikriti, Aippasi 13, Trayodasi, Monday.

Several Villages and temples in the *simai* have been deserted and fallen into ruin for several years owing to the *Odayan gallabai*.

Annamarasar arranged for the revival of worship therein for the merit of his master by the restoration of the many grants enjoyed by the temples previously.

Do. 1937--38 No. 416 Tiruppalappandal, Tirukkoyalur, South Arcot.
Saka 1393, Vikriti, Aippasi 13, Trayodasi, Monday, Asvati.

Several maṇḍapas, gopuras etc., in different places suffered damage and worship in the temples was stopped on account of the *Oddian gallabai*. These were restored by the order of the agent to the King.

From these it may be observed that several kinds of damages were done to the temples alone. But nothing is said regarding the dislocation or derangement of the revenue or military administration of the country. The main brunt of the Oriya occupation is said to have been on the holy shrines. Were the Oriyas demolishers of the homes of country's gods?

The chief aim of Kapileśvara Gajapati in establishing himself on the throne vacated by the failure of progeny in the family of the Eastern Gaṅgas, was to maintain and protect Hindu tradition and religion which became threatened by the Muhammadans from the west and from the north. After he had secured all paths opened into Orissa, he marched south to bring back those chiefs who had, during the decadence of the Gaṅga sovereignty assumed independent powers. The first that was subdued was Pratāpa Gaṅgarāju of the Śilavaṁśa of Nandapur, who had extended his rule up to the banks of the River Vamsadhara and had his seat at Bobbili. The policy followed by Kapileśvara was conciliatory and therefore did not overthrow the ruling chief but took oaths of allegiance from those that mildly submitted to him. Pratāpa Gaṅgarāju was one of such chiefs who had done homage to Kapileśvara and Jayanta Raja of Vaddadi, the brother of the former's mother was the second on this side of the Godavary river.

Then he proceeded south conquering one fort after another. At Kondavidu and Rajamundi, he appointed his own men as Governors and officers of smaller rank (Patras) over each of the other forts. In the same way, he behaved in the Karnata. He was a Hindu King and the protector of Hindu customs and creed and faith. He appointed Dakshma Kapileśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra as the *Pouecha* (Superintendent of temples and religious endowments). We saw that this officer started a *bhoga* in the name of his father (M. E. R. 1919, Nos. 51 and 92). The same two records inform us that he had ordered the repairs of two

temples one of which was dedicated to Parumal Purushottama. The very name shows that it was outlandish for the Tamil country. It is the name of God Jagannātha of Puri, the national deity of Orissa. After the country had been subdued and settled under the Gajapati rule, this temple might have been constructed for the Oriya settlers to adore. At Kondapalli a Jagannātha temple existed and the hillfort became known as Jagannāthaprāsāda garh (S. I. I. No. 654) in an inscription of the time of Gajapati Pratāpa Rudra Deva.

Kapilesvara Deva Gajapati gave some villages in Kondapallisima to the *linga* isāna in the Village of Pāpavināsana at the foot of the hill of Indrakila in Vijaya-vāṭikā (Beswada) in the year A. D. 1460 (S. I. I. Vol. IV 761). The *Phalica* linga at Kapilesvara in Sri Kakulam (Guntur) was endowed, by a stone record, a land holding twenty putties of seed. (R. No. 313, Tri-ennial Catalogue of Mss, Madras, Telugu, Vol. III Part 2). A slab set up in a field in the village of Zakkampudf, Bezwada Taluk, Krishna District (M. E. R. 1913, No. 148) contains a record of Kapilesvara Mahārāja, son of Ambidevarāja, stating that the village of Zakkireddipalle was granted for the worship of Pāpavināsana and Rudradeva at Bijaya-vāda and for maintaining two feeding houses one for the jangams and another for Brahmays Hammāra Kumāra Mahāpātra ratifying the grant of an ancient chief Rajanarayana of the village, Venakapadu, distributed the land amongst all the servants of the temple (M. E. R. 1913 No 137). These are the only yet known charities of the first of the Gajapati kings; many more may be expected to be discovered in future. Copper plate charters also might have been given but only one is discovered till now. (M. E. R. 1935, Part II. Page 68, Para 37). It registers 'the gift of the village *veligatali* surnamed *Kapilesvarapuram* in the *Harigura-madurisima* by King Pratāpa Kapilesvara, on the occasion of *Vaisakhi* in the śaka year 1380 *Bahudhanya* to 120 Brāhmans in the name of his father

Though the country passed through several invaders and administrators some villages and towns still exist which by their names signify their origin.

The following are from the census of 1891, village statement :—
Atmakuru Taluk :- No. 8 - *Bandaru-palli*. In Oriya *Banaaru*, means a barber.

Podili Taluk :— No. 43 *Katra gunta*. In Oriya *Katra* means a wood.

Palur Taluk:—No. 124 *U'ccheru*. In Oriya *U'cch* means high. *U'cchada* a village in southern Jharkhanda is mentioned in the C. P. of Narasimhadeva II of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. J. A. S. B. (Vol. 1896 No. 3 p. 271).

Udayagiri Taluk :—No. 58 *Jāḍa-devi* ;— *Jāḍa* is modified *Jhadu* which means a forest.

Udayagiri Taluk :—No. 81 *Patraṅgi*.

Venkatagiri Taluk:—No. 113 *Patra-palli*

} *Patra* is an Oriya epithet for the leader of a small army fighting men.

All these evidences show that the Oriyas, did not commit any devastation in the country; nor did they ruin the holy shrines. They seem to have founded abodes for men and homes to gods; lands were granted to the Brahmins and temples; feeding houses for the mendicant poor were founded.

The declaration of the ruins in the epigraphs seems to be unfounded. It may be a stratagem employed by the agent Annamarasar to instil hatred against the Oriya rules. The Hindu people may forbear any kind of harm but their spirit is roused if havoc is done to their gods or their shrines. Those that are pronounced to have destroyed the holy shrines are considered to be the greatest enemies to men and their country. Dislike and hatred of the administration is more easily roused by such propaganda than by any other method. Even a downright falsehood passes for incontrovertible truth if it only bears the stamp of the prevailing government. A record issued by Annamarasar, the Prime minister of Saluva Narasimhadeva, and bearing the stamp of the permission of the ruler, got currency as truth very easily.

Moreover all such inscriptions bear the dates in the year A. D. 1471 the year, at the fag end of which the war between, we have seen above, the Saluvas and the Gajapati was brought to a close by the treaty of *Udayagiri*. Who were really responsible for all the harm said to have been done to the land can be known if the records relating to the rise of Saluva Narasimha and his status from which he rose before he marched against Udayagiri are studied with clear unprejudiced minds.

KAPILENDRA GAJAPATI.

- By P. MUKHERJEE, M. A.

Mr. Ramadas has thrown much new light on the history of Kapilendra Gajapati, in his article, "Surya Vamsi Kings of Orissa". The South Indian inscriptions are utilised exhaustively for the first time and the calculation of dates has enhanced the value of Mr Ramadas's work.

But some of his conclusions cannot be accepted.

1. P. 173. "Narasimha Deva IV's rule ended in A. D. 1405" ("in 1405 A. D."—p. 193) Niladevi Mahadevi, one of the queens of Narasimha IV offered gifts to the Simhachalam temple in Ś 1335—1413 A. D. (S. I. I. Vol. VI. No. 1072) Since the first inscription of Bhānudeva IV is dated 1415 A. D., we may reasonably conclude that Narasimha IV died about 1414 and was succeeded by Bhānudeva IV.

2. P. 175. "Immediately he was crowned, he went against the Muhammadan ruler of Bengal and Malwa and vanquished them". Mr. Ramadas depends upon the undated Gopināthpur temple inscription for this statement. This inscription credits Kapilendra with victory over the rulers of Mālava, Gurjara and Delhi. The Veligalani C. P. of Kapilendra (No. 17 of 1935, verse 6) also states that the Gajapati threatened or conquered Dhārā (the secondary capital of Malwa) and Delhi. There is absolutely no doubt about the fact that Kapilendra was a great king who displayed remarkable military activity and extended his empire from the Ganges to the Penner in the south and for a few years to the Cauveri. But it is not safe, till more definite evidence is available, to accept such claims of panegyrist as proofs of actual conquests of far-off Delhi and Malwa.

3. P. 176. "Nine Forts are indicated by the epithet '*Nava Koti*'" Mr. Ramadas has not explained why the forts of Paddapuram and

Kulavalapalli are included in his list of 9 forts to the exclusion of more well-known forts of Koṇḍapalli, Addanki, Tangedā and Ketāvaram.

It seems much more reasonable to suppose that the epithet *Navakotī* was used to denote the size or population of Karnāta. We shall quote a few South Indian inscriptions in which such conventional numbers are used.

- A. No. 140 of 1897—Gonka, the Lord of Vengi, one thousand country.
- B. No. 193 of 1905—The Lord of Vijayavātikā and of the district called 6,000.
- C. No. 277 of 1905—Gonka, ruling over 3,300 villages.
- D. Nos. 466 and 517 of 1906—Record of a king ruling over Renādu 7 thousand. Achyuta Rāya, the brother of Krishnadeva Rāya assumed the title of "*Navakotī Nārāyaṇa*". (No. 356 of 1912)

4. P. 178. "The inscription in the Simhachalam temple dated 27th November, 1448 is the last that did not mention the titles other than 'Gaudeśvara' of Kapilesvaradeva".

We find that his Jagannath temple inscription of the 19th *Anka* dated April 1450 mentions only the title of *Gaudeśvara*. The title of the "overlord of Karnāṭa and Kulbarga" was probably used for the first time in the inscription No. 17 of 1935 dated April 1458 and the Jagannath temple inscription dated July 1459 A. D.

5. P. 177. "No composition (literary) of this period gives this" *i. e.* title Bhramaravara Rāya. Jayānanda in his *Chaitanya Maṅgala* alludes to Rājā Bhramara who persecuted Chaitanya's ancestors. It is stated in the *Mādalā Pāñji* that King Matta Bhānu made Kapila Rāuta a Pātro or officer and conferred on him the title of Bhramaravara.

6. P. 179 "The Oddayan disturbances referred to in the inscriptions dated 1471 A. D. pertain to the conquest of Chandragiri or Kanchi Rajya". These inscriptions which are 7 in number refer to the fact that some Śiva and Vishnu temples in the Tirukkoyilur Taluk of the South Arcot district were neglected as a result of *Oḍḍiyan galabhai*, 8 or 10 years ago.

7. P. 179. "Hambira Kumara Mahapatra was a trusted general of the Gajapati King" There were two persons bearing the same name, one being the son of Kapilendra.

(a) No. 148 of 1913—Jakkampudi, Bezwada Taluk. Kumāra Hamvira, son of Gajapati Kapileśvara, ratified Kapileśvara's grant to the gods Pāpavināśa and Rudrapadeva. [Ins. No. 308 of 1892]

(b) Inscription No. 110 of 1902—Warrangal Fort dated 1460 A. D. "*Gajapathi Kapileśvara Mahārāyala Kumārundu, Amvīradeva Kumāra Mahāpātra Crugallu* (Warrangal) *Kotū* (Fort) *gonenu* (took)".

The *Mādālā Pāñji* refers to Hāmvara Rāya, son of Kapilendra. The old Gajapati nominated Purushottama as his successor. "The messenger gave this information to Hammira" [इभीरवकु याइ डगरा वारता कहिले.—The *Mādālā Pāñji* Prachi edition—p. 47.] Ferishta writes that Ambur Ray tried to recover his ancestral throne with the help of Muhammad Shah Bahmani in 1471 A. D. [Trans. Briggs Vol. III p. 487]. Kapileśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra was probably the son of Prince Hāmvara and named after the grandfather—an old custom.

8. P. 180. "Mālikā Pārisā Diga"—The Jagannath temple inscription dated 1450 A. D. The *Pāñji* uses the term "*Patisā*" to denote a Muslim King. Kapilendra conquered South-Western Bengal (this territory was later known as the Muljyāthā *Dandapāta*) and assumed the title of the overlord of Gauda. The government epigraphist, Ootacamund, informs me that the Srīsailam inscription of Kapileśvara is dated Saka 1382, Vikrama=A. D. 1460. Mr. Ramadas writes that Kapilendra took Sri Sailam in A. D. 1450.

9. P. 180 "revenue-officer (Parichha)" The word *Parikshā*, of which *Parichha* is a corruption, should be translated here as 'governor' Kondavidu and Chandragin being *rājyas* or provinces.

10. P. 184. "on the death of Kapileśvara Deva, his sons fought with one another for the throne; so writes M. M. Chakravarti, but he does not quote the authority from which he took this information. But Jivadevācharya speaks of Purushottama as the only son."

M. M. Chakravarti depends on Ferishta for the information that Ambur Ray, the dispossessed son of Kapilendra, took the help of Muhammad III Bahmani against Mongul Ray, a Brahmin, who was

the adopted son of the late Rāya of Orissa. The *Panji* states that Kapilendra had a large number of sons, of whom Hāmmira Rāya was the eldest.

We know the name of another son of Kapilendra. Krishnadeva captured Tirumala Rāutarāya Mahāpātra at Udayagiri [Ins. No. 272 of 1897]. Tirumala was the paternal uncle [*Pinatandri*-in Telugu] of Pratāpa Rudra Gajapati. [The Nellore District Inscriptions Vol. III Udayagiri, No. 37 See also the Ins. No. 293 of 1892.]

BIHAR IN THE TIME OF AURANGZEB.

By KHAN SAHIB SYED HASAN ASKARI, M. A., B. L.

In the previous issue of the present Journal an attempt was made to trace the course of events that happened in Bihar up to the end of the regime of Daud Khan Quraishi, the first of the thirteen¹ Governors of Bihar, during the reign of Aurangzeb. Daud Khan's successor in Bihar was Yadgar Beg who got the title of Jannesar Khan and later of Lashkar² Khan by which he is generally known. He was the son of Zaberdest Khan and had served as an envoy in Persia and held the offices of Mir Tuzuk and Mir Bukshi of Dara Shikoh and also of the Governorship of Kashmir, Multan, and Thatta before he was despatched from the court to Bihar as its Governor, on the 6th³ Shaaban, 1075, or 13th February, 1665. We do not know about the makeshift arrangement for the government of this province during the interval of a few months that elapsed between the departure of Daud Khan from, and arrival of Lashkar Khan at, Patna. Lashkar Khan continued to rule over Bihar till the 11th year of the reign *i. e.* Ramzan,⁴ 1078, or February 1668. The official historian says little about these three years except that on 27th Safar⁵, 1077, or 22 August, 1666, Mankali⁶ Khan, the Faujdar of Palamun was transferred from there

¹ The Akhbarats and other evidences enabled the present writer to establish that Bihar had two other Governors, not mentioned by the authorities whose works have been generally relied upon by the modern historians. One was Safi Khan, son of Islam Khan Mashhadi, who succeeded Saif Khan in the year 24th and continued to govern Bihar till the 26th year of the reign, while the other was Mukhtar Khan who filled the gap of about a year and half that elapsed between the transfer of Buzurg Ummed Khan and the appointment of Fidai Khan in the year 38th of the reign.

² Life in M. U. He died as a Panj hazari in Ramzan, 1081 (T. M.) His father had died in 1032 (A. H.)

³ A. N.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.* Mankali Khan had been promoted to 1,500, 1,000 and given a robe of honour and was appointed Faujdar of Saran on 20th Jamadi 1, 1069 or 4th Janu- y

and Palamun was placed in direct charge of the Subedar of Bihar; that the latter received a robe of honour and an increase in his rank to 4,000, 4,000, with 2,000 Sawar Do Aspa, Seh Aspa; and that Marhamat¹ Khan was appointed Faujdar of Arrah in place of Sadaat² Khan who was transferred to Gorakhpur on 3rd Rabi I, 1077, or 1st Sep. 1666 and was promoted to the rank of 2,000,900. But the European travellers, Tavernier and Bernier, who visited Patna at the end of the 1st year of Lashkar Khan's rule in Bihar, furnish us with many valuable information about the administrative divisions, revenue of the province, its capital, its Governor, and some of the manners and customs of the people.

"Patna or Beara", says Bernier who alone gives the name of "Lashkar Ken³" as Governor of Patna, "has 8 Sarkars and 245 parganas yeilding 95 lacs 80 thousands rupees." Tavernier describes the Governor as "a Venerable man, now 80 years old, who commanded 5,000 6,000". Tavernier describes Patna as "one of the largest town⁴ in India not less than 2 Kos in length, the houses being nearly all roofed with thatch and bamboos and not being better than the majority of the towns in India." "The Dutch Co" he continues, "has an establishment⁵ there on account of their trade in salt-petre which they refine at a large village called Chapra⁶ 10 Kos above". He remained 8 days in Patna (arriving with Bernier) and he writes about the Eclipse of the Sun that was visible on 2nd July, 1666, which (drew a large number of people from far and near to have their bath in the sacred river of the Ganges). Tavernier once purchased at Patna 7,633 Musk deer weighing 2,577½ oz. and he got from it 432 oz. of

1659. He was succeeded by Mir Raziuddin who got a Mansab of 1,500. 800 on 10th Zilhij, 1174 or 25th January 1664.

1 A. N.

2 Sadaat Khan had been appointed Faujdar of Shahabad on 19th Rabi 1, 1075 or 13th December 1664.

3 Travels of Bernier.

4 It is interesting to compare this description with those given by Abdul Latif (JBORS) Peter Mundy, R. Fitch Thevenot Part II page 68, De Graffe's Voyages 62, Bowery 227.

5 Perhaps this is represented by the main building of the present Patna College which was built by the Dutch. There was another site of the Dutch establishment in Meetan Ghat (Patna City) which was called Pushta Valandez. The Stone slab with an inscription dated 1752 went into the river in the Earthquake of 1934.

6 Now a big town and the headquarter station of the Saran District.

pure Musk. He also tells us an interesting story of a certain Brahmin Sadhu who extorted 20,000 Rs. and 27 cubits of cloth from the at first reluctant citizens of Patna by climbing up a tree and remaining there without eating and drinking for 30 days and watched continuously by about a 100 men. The French traveller¹ testifies to the genuineness of the fast for he himself took pains to ascertain the truth and ascribes it to "the work of the devil". Another incident recorded by him which throws some light on the accessibility of the ruler of the land and of the pressure of public opinion on him is about a "young boy" who had been "disgraced" by his master, a Mingbashi (or a Turkish Commander of 1,000) whom he killed by taking him unawares on the occasion of an hunting excursion. The boy boldly ran to the Governor's house and made a clean breast of everything. The Governor put him in prison but had to set him at liberty after 6 months for, we are told, "although² the relative of the defunct did what they could to procure his execution, the Governor did not dare to condemn him as he feared the people who protested that the young man had acted rightly".

When Lashkar Khan was transferred to Multan, Ibrahim Khan "the most upright³ of the sons of celebrated Ali Mardan Khan" was appointed in his place as Governor of Bihar. He had already held charge of such important provinces as Kashmir and Lahore and was a Mansubdar of 5,000, 5,000. He had a longer tenure of office in

¹ Travels of M. T.

² *Ibid.* Tavernier has noted also "a strange occurrence which happened one day before my presence at Patna. I was with the Dutch at the house of the Governor of the town... when a young and very beautiful woman Scarcely more than 22 entered the reception room (and) with a firm and resolute Voice required the Governor's permission to burn herself with the body of her deceased husband.. They sought (invain) to turn her from her resolution. She protested "I do not fear fire any way and to make you sure it is so you have only to order a well lighted torch to be brought here." The governor was horrified, but some of his young nobles "forced him to test the woman." "As soon as she saw the torch she ran in front of it, held her hand firmly to the flame without the least grimace and pushed her arm up to the elbow till it was immediately scorched. This caused horror to all who witnessed the deed and the Governor commanded the woman to be taken away from his presence". Vol. II 171.

³ Life in M. U. He died in Kashmir at the end of Safar or the beginning of Rabi 1, 1111. Aug. 1699.

Bihar than his predecessors, *i. e.* from Ramzan¹ 1078 or February 1668 to the year 18, which began in Ramzan, 1085 or Nov. 1673. In the 2nd year of his regime in Bihar the Emperor being informed by Masoom Khan, son of Shahnawaz Khan, (who served as the Foujdar of Sarkar of Tirhut from Jamadi II, 1074, or December,² 1663, to Ramzan, 1080, or January, 1670,) on the 10th Zilhijja, 1079, or 2nd May, 1669, that a pretender impersonating³ Shah Shuja had appeared in the vicinity of Morang⁴ (west of Koch Bihar and north of Purnea) and caused much commotion in the neighbourhood, issued orders both to Ibrahim Khan, the Governor of Bihar, and Fedai Khan, the Faujdar of Gorakhpur, to cut off the head of the man if he raised any disturbance there. The most important thing, however, that happened in Bihar during the reign of Ibrahim Khan was the devastating famine which, according to John Marshal, who lived in this province from April 1670 to April⁵ 1672, swept over the whole country "from 3 or 4 days⁶ journey beyond Benares to Rajmahal". Besides Marshall, the Dutch traveller, De

1 M. A. The English Factory records tells us of what appears to have been a rumour about Ibrahim Khan being replaced by Safi Khan of Orissa in 1673 "In March 1673" advices were received at Hoogly from Cateck that Nabab Zeffi Khan is come to Pattana in place of Ibrahim Khan" T. B.

2 M. A. 18th year. From Akhbarat we learn that the request of Masoom Khan, the Faujdar of Tirhut and Darbhanga, for transfer, on account of the climate of the place being unsuited to his health, was accepted and Hadi Khan, the Faujdar of Shadipur, was sent to Tirhut and Darbhanga, and at about the same time, on 28th January, 1670, Askar Khan was appointed Faujdar of Arrah, and got an increase of 700 to his 1500 Zat and 500 Sawar.

3 For the rise, at a later stage, of a pretender impersonating the son of Shah Shuja, See Stewart's Bengal.

4 It seems that the hilly country of Morang or the Tarai District below the Himaliyas was a source of frequent trouble, to the Mughals Mirza Abul Maali, known also as Mirza Khan, the Faujdar of Tirhut and Darbhanga, (from the 31st of Shah Jahan to the 6th year of Aurangzeb's reign) had been deputed to co-operate with Allahwardi Khan, the Faujdar of Gorakhpur in chastising the Zamindar of Morang. Though he died in that reign, in Jamadi 1074, or Dec. 1663, his colleague appears to have succeeded in the task, for we find him presenting to the Emperor 10 elephants which he had captured from the Zamindar of Morang. The effective conquest of Morang, however, took place at the hands of Shaista Khan, the Governor of Bengal, in the year following the departure of Lashkar Khan from Bihar.

5 J. M. Introduction pp. 10, 19.

6 *Ibid* 150.

Graffie¹ who journeyed from Monghyr to Patna in November, 1670, at the time of scarcity, and Thomas Bowrey, who arrived in India in 1669 and was living at Balasore² in 1674, give a graphic picture of the horrible scenes they saw or heard of at Patna and elsewhere in the neighbourhood.

The kind-hearted Englishman, J. Marshall, got the first evidence of the Famine on the 20th May at Dumra, west of Jaintpur, in Monghyr, where he saw "great³ number of dead corpses" in the Ganges and on its shores and on the following day he was begged to purchase a Muslim lad for half a rupee. On reaching Patna on the 23rd May he learnt that the death rate for the 1st four or five months had been 100 per day. He writes further "about 23rd July there died about 250 or 300 persons daily of famine in and about the City of Pattana, Rice being 5 r 5 an per md. best sort". The figures of the continual rise in the prices of rice and other food stuffs which he has carefully noted give us an idea of the sufferings entailed on all but the wealthiest inhabitants. We are told that coarse rice and goat-flesh sold at the respective rates of 2 and a half R. per md. and 2 R. in May 1671 while the rates were 8 seer per rupee and 12 seer in September 1671. Fine⁴ rice, Barley, Beef, Butter or Ghee, and Oil at the end of May 1671 were sold at the respective rates of 4 R., 2 R., 1½ R., 7½ R., 7 R., per Md. which consisted of 8 Lbs. English. In August, rice was 7 seer per rupee, the best sort being sold at the rate of 5-11-0 per Md. The rate of wheat was 2¼ Rupee per Md. in May and 4 R., per Md. in August.

Thomas Bowrey observes as follows. "Notwithstanding Pattana be so fertile to afford grain to such a plentiful country as Bengal, yet in the year of our Lord, 1670, they had as great scarcities, in so much that one Pattana seare weight of rice (the plentifullest grains in the country) was sold for 1 rupee the seer containing only 27 ounces,⁵ and in a few months there was none at all to be had at that rate, in so much so that many thousands of the natives perished on

¹ *Ibid.* 155, Also the Countries round the Bay of Bengal by Thomas Bowrey.

² T. B.

³ J. M.

⁴ *Ibid* VI. also T. B. n.

⁵ T. B.

the streets and open fields for want of food, and many were glad to sell their children for a handful of rice". According¹ to De Graffe "Rice sold half a rix dollar for six sers or 9 Lb. Dutch weight while in ordinary years 60 or 70 more Lbs could be brought for the same amount". Marshall says that "a great² number of slaves could be bought for 4 annas and 8 annas per peace and good ones one rupee per peace". The Dutch Traveller remarks". We saw nothing but poverty and misery of the country folk. Scarcity and famine were greater than had ever been known within the memory of men. The cause was the failure of the rice crops and the inundation of the Gangesthe people died in heaps and their corpses remained extended on the road, streets, market places, and upon sands besides the river, since there was no one to bury them or even throw them into the river. The corpses were devoured by wild horses (?) tigers (?), wolves (?) and dogs. We even saw poor wretches who had still in their mouths grass, leather and such like filths. They died in flocks. A woman ate her own child. Slaves could be bought for next to nothing".

"Strangely enough" comments Dr. S. A. Khan "no wide spread pestilence appears to have followed in the wake of the dearth nor do the Europeans appear to have fallen victim to its effects". The huge total of "one lac three (3) thousands (viz) 50,000 Muslamans, 53,000 Hindus" which Marshall and his associate, valentine Nurse, claimed to have obtained on the 11th December, 1671, of those who were the victims of the dearth in the past 354 days have also been taken by this critic to be far from truth. Marshall writes "Since the beginning of October there have died of famine in Pattana and the suburb about 20,000 persons, and there cannot in that time have gone⁵ fewer from the city than 150,000 persons". Elsewhere he gives the figures of 90,720 and 135,400 of those who

¹ J. M., 155, T. B.

² *Ibid*, 50.

³ Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, the Editor.

⁴ J. M. 152,

⁵ *Ibid*, A Valuable document bearing the Seal of Safi Khan Alamgir Shahi, discovered by the present writer, tells us that the grantees of certain Madad-i-Maash in Jaruha, Hajipur, had migrated to Jahangirnagar (Dacca) during the governorship of Ibrahim Khan on account of famine.

died during the 14th months ending 6th November 1671. As regards the disposal of the dead bodies though the remarks of the European travellers may be accepted as generally applicable, specially to the country side, they can not be taken as wholly true in the case of the city of Patna. Marshall himself says that "most persons² of quality hire Halalkhore (Sweepers) to carry them into the middle of the river with string and carried them on to the middle of the river and then cut the string and so let them drive down with the stream". Elsewhere he writes "the Kotwall causeth all the dead corpses to be cast into the Ganges every morning" In regard to the Muslims of Patna, Marshall says that the Nawab "Ibrahim³ Khan gave 15644 dead bodies cloth to cover them when buried." Of course he refers to 18144 "who had no friend to bury them".

The English traveller ascribes the sufferings of the people in some measure, to the Nawab and T. Bowrey blames his "Chief wife". Marshall says "through the Nawabs³ roguery, here (Patna) is a famine and also from the dryness of the last years. T. Bowrey is more explicit in his charge against the Nawab's wife who was the daughter of Mirza⁴ Yehya, son of Saif Khan Qazvini. "And yett at that time, the Nabob's Chief wife had several very large store houses full of grains, and would not dispose of any unless they would give the weight of silver in one scale of its weight of rice or wheat or the other. But it pleased God to frustrate her covetous designs and sent them as great plenty as ever they had". The Editor, Sir. R. Temple, remarks on this "I have been unable to find any allusion to the action of the "Nabab's Chief wife as related by T. B. Vague unspecified charges of the gossip and credulous European travellers of the 17th Century against Mughal rulers, nobles, and their⁶ females have to be taken with a grain of salt. There is no evidence what so ever that T. Bowrey saw personally the things he has recorded at Patna. The well-known antipathy of the

1 J. M. 151,

2 *Ibid.* 152,

3 *Ibid.* 150,

4 T. M. (Tarikh-i Muhammadi)

5 T. B.

6 E. G. the absurd stories and atrocious allegations against Shahjehan, his nobles, and their females in the works of Manucci, Bernier etc.

European merchants to the provincial rulers for their inability to concede all that they claimed and also because of the exactions and the misbehaviour of their undoubtedly corrupt subordinates must also be taken into account before passing any judgment on the matter. In his account of Patna, Streynsham Master says that the English had built their Factory at Singhia, 10 or 12 miles North of the Ganges "by reason of Nabob's ¹ palace is in the city and his servants and officers are constantly craving one thing or another which..... if not given they create trouble and if given what they desire will be chargeable". Moreover, if Marshall's version of a certain action of the Governor is to be believed he had reasons to feel prejudiced against him. Says he "about 7th September ² 1670 when Mamid Arif, the English Vakeel was about to get the English boats cleared which had been stopped by the Governor about 23 days, he desired Mahmid Hussain, (one of Ibrahim Chans Mulvi Assistant) and desired him to do us that courtesie he said "are the English of my religion (religion) or are they Mussalmans? They are neither, nor are they either, friends to God. nor man, so that should I do them any courtesie. God would be displeased with me and men would not praise me " In this connection a letter of Walter Clavell sent from Hoogli to Surat on 19th January 1673 in which there is a long rehearsal of the troubles and interference with the petre trade caused by the "conduct of the Nabob of Pattana" will bear quotation Till his coming business went on very well in Singhia and there about, in the direction of Petre investments, but since that time he being a bookish Namzjee ³, his officers having taken advantage of their Master's supiness in his other affairs have almost runied Pattana" It appears that the trouble was mostly due to the activities of the masterful Dewan of Patna, Waris Khan, to whom Shaesta Khan addressed his Parwana in ⁴ 1672 and for whose removal and that of the Daroga Job Charnock advised the despatch of a Vakeel to "Dilli". It is significant that the bookish Namazi against whom Marshall complains became so friendly to the English as to invite them to

¹ Diary of S. M. quoted in J. M. 23.

² J. M., 83.

³ T. B.

⁴ Diary of Streynsham Master, T. B.

Bengal in 1690 and restore their Factories and privileges of trade. He was praised as "the most famously just and good Nabob"¹ Even with regard to his attitude towards them during his governorship of Bihar, perhaps the English realised soon afterwards that the Nawab was not very much to blame. A Madras letter dated February, 1689, gives a different account of him and refers to his "courtesies and civil² usage and his good intentions to the English, he having been an old friend to your affairs at Patna".

The English, particularly J. Marshall, have supplied us with many valuable information on a variety of subjects. Having set out from Hoogly on 8th March, 1670, in a Bajra³ manned by 14 oars men and 2 steersmen Marshall reached Raj Mahal on the 8th April and from there it took him a week to arrive at Monghyr. At Bhagalpur which he describes as a "great town of thatch house and a place of bows and arrows and also neat hubble-bubble he noted that 26 copper coins or paisa were valued at one rupee though Hobson Jobson gives the value of pices or paisa as⁴ 80 to the rupee in 1673. This means that the copper coin in the neighbourhood of Patna, in the time of Marshall was worth more than elsewhere. At Monghyr Marshall inspected Shah Shuja's palace built on the west side of the Fort and he describes it "as a very large house where the King (Shuja) lived, walled next to the river, for about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ⁵ course (Kos) with bricks and stones with a wall about 15 yards high." He entered the 1st gate but was stopped at the other within which he saw "2 elephants carved in stones and very large and handsomely". He inspected the palace more closely during a 2nd visit in the following year for he was not suffered to go within on the first occasion. This was due to the recent misadventure⁶ of two Dutchmen, De Graafe and Oosterhoff, who paid the penalty of their antiquarian interest by being taken

1 T. B; Hedges Diaries.

2 *Ibid.* notes.

3 J. M. "A Kind of large boat, fairly Clean the Centre of which forms a little room" As regards Pateela or large flat bottomed boats and other Varieties, see their descriptions in T. B.

4 J. M., 121, 133.

5 J. M. 123, 134 or De graafe also saw the large Stone elephants with a figure of man on each of them but no trace of these is to be found now.

6 J. M. 18, 33; De graafe voyages.

as Spies. They were imprisoned for making a plan of the palace and noting details regarding fortification. They were released after 7 weeks in November 1670 by paying to the Nawab of Patna, as he says, a fine of one thousand rupees. Marshall found, at the North end of the town and also of the palace", a great garden¹" and at the south end of the town he saw "several Thatcht houses and several toomes and Muskets" (Tombs and Mosques). "The town he says, "stands² upon an ascent, the river bank by it being 8 or 10 yards high. The brick wall by the river side "at the south end of Monghyr was about 5 yards high and 20 long with a little tower at each end which wall is a fortification to put guns in it".

When nearing Patna he passed through "Footooa, a long town of little house at least $\frac{1}{2}$ course long" with 2 stone bridges, and he locates the historic "Jaffar³ Cawn's garden" at the north end of Sabalpur "which belongs to Patna". "The garden" he says, "hath turrets⁴ at each end, north and south, and in the middle a little white house with a balcony towards the river and is walled with bricks and stones". The "Nabob,⁵ House (built by Shaista Khan, a former Governor of Patna) was situated at a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ Kos from this garden. He then refers to certain places in North Bihar, particularly to Hajipur⁶, which he describes as "a great town situated on the Ganges and the Gandak". An interesting passage is well worth quoting "Bet wixt Ganges and Gandak, viz between west and north where the rivers meet at the corner is a green piece of low ground, which at the height of the

¹ No. longsr traceable.

² J. M. 76.

³ Built either by Asaf Khan Jafar Beg, the last of Akbar's governor of Bihar, or by umdatul mulk Mirza Jafar Khan who served as a governor of Bihar during the years 1661-64 and oqm later rose to be the chief minister of Shah Jahan.

⁴ Neither the turret nor the white house can be seen now.

⁵ This must have been situated in what was once the most flourishing quarter of the old city, then called Kaiwan Shikoh, now corrupted into Kawwakhoh.

⁶ So called because it was founded, according to Frishta, by Shamsuddin Haji Ilyas, a powerful ruler of Bengal, who extended his conquests upto Benares, and crossed words with the emperor Firoz Shah Tughlak of Delhi. Compare Peter Mundy's description and note the decline of the old town marked by him. Before the great famine there were, according to J. M. 4000 houses inhabited in Hodgepur but now 1800 inhabited and out of them many have died T. B. notes.

rivers is overflown, after which the Hindus come thither from the remotest parts of India to wash themselves in that place where the rivers meet which they esteem holy so that there are many thousands come thither at one time. There is also there a garden, called Sa Sujas (Shah Shuja) garden, which is very high, and by reason of its situation, and having such prospects I esteem it the pleasantest place I have seen in India". Elsewhere he refers again to the bathing festival "at Hajipur on the 6th of November (when the moon was near the full in the morning and about 40 or 50 thousand persons resorting to wash their bodies, some coming heither out of Tartari (Central Asia) some from places very remote, some time some of the Rajas at Nepal and other places coming heither disguised". Obviously Marshall refers here to the famous Hari Har Chhater fair of Sonepur still held every year in Kartik. The garden of Shah Shuja must have been situated in or near Sonepur for, he continues "opposite to this garden on the other side of the river (Gandak) is Hajipur which is an ancient and ruined town, but hath been a famous place and the seat of Kings. At Hajipur the Company hath a house for which pay three and half rupees per month."

We get an interesting information about a certain Ram Nath Brahmin, a magician and a strolger at "Modafferpore" near Mossee (Mehsi in Champaran)." Marshall speaks of grapes which he ate at Singhee (near Lalganj) and "which grew in Hajipur. The enterprising Englishman also paid a visit to the walled town of Bakhra" which was not great but well situated amongst pleasant garden etc., and where he says "lives one great moor (Muslim) who belongs to the Nabab of Patna." "He hath," Marshall continues "several brick houses all enclosed with a dirt wall, dented at their tip". He describes at length also the "brimka Lathee or Bhim's Club, obviously the famous lion pillar of Ashoka,

1. If it can be Identified with the present head quarter of the district bearing the same name. The generally accepted theory that Muzaffarpur is named after Muzaffar Khan, an Amil or revenue agent of the E. I. Co. in the 18th Century falls to the ground. See the Gazateer of Muzaffarpur.

2. J. M. A well known village in Hajipur subdivision now owned and inhabited by a family of Kaysthas whose ancestors held the office of the Kanungos under the Mughal. The present writer has seen and translated many of the imperial farmans of the Mughals still in possession of the said family of the Kāyasthas.

still extant at Kolhua Basarh. He found in a pleasant grove close by the pillar a Fakeer living in a house the entrance into which was like "an oven being so little that I was forced to creep to get into it and when within I could stand upright in it, it being within built like the roof of an oven and something steeping. In it was a Faker man." Two miles from the pillar he found the tomb of Mirza Sayd Mamood Abdul. Marshall mentions several other places and makes other interesting observations but we must leave him and resume the history of the successive governors of Bihar.

Among the immediate successors of Ibrahim Khan the author of Maasir mentions the names of Mir or Amir Khan and of Tarbiat Khan Barlas, the former being replaced by the latter on the 9th Ramzan year 19 (1086) or 18th November 1675. Mir Miran¹, son of Khalilullah Khan yezdi and Hamida Banu Begum, the daughter of Saif Khan, an ex-Governor of Bihar, and the husband of the sister of the celebrated lady of the Taj, had already served in various capacities such as the Faujdar of Janmu, military officer in Usufzaï territories, Superintendent of the Mansubdar, and the Subedar of Allahabad and Malwa², before he got the title of Amir Khan and an increase in his rank of 4000,3000, Do Aspa and was appointed Governor of Bihar in the 18th year of Aurangzeb's reign. The Historian Md.³ Sadique mentions Amir Khan as, one of his four uncles. In fact the new Governor of Bihar was very respectably connected but the only important thing that the author of Maasir has chosen to record about his brief regime of less than a year in Bihar is the success in suppression of the refractory Afghan Chiefs, Alam and Ismail and others of Shajahanpur and Kant Gola, places taken by Sir. J. N. Sarkar⁴ to be in Bihar. Though there is a place

¹ Life in M.U. ⁴ He died 56 years old in Kabul on 27 shawwall, 1109 and was then a Mausabader of 7000 (T. M.)

² Amir Khan replaced Wazir Khan Muhammed Tahir as the Subedar of Malwa on 26th Jamadi II 1083 or 10th September 1672. He refused the offer of Foujdari of Iraj and consequently lost the Mansab in Moharram 1085 or March 1674 (M. U.) Perhaps he was soon restored to his former Mansab and appointed Governor of Bihar in succession to Ibrahim Khan.

³ Author of Subhe Sadiq.

⁴ Sarkar's A. The great historian refers also to Athmal Gola 28 miles east of Patna and to Katganj shown in Rennel's map but these cannot be taken to be identical with Kantigola. J. Marshal passed through Sumbarka Gola, now known as

called Shajehanpur near Bihar, 16 miles from Patna, yet we find no trace on the map of any place called Kantgola. On the other hand, we find Shajahanpur at a distance of 50 Kos from Lucknow and also Kantgola at some distance from it in the District of Moradabad. Badauni¹ refers to Kantgola as a dependency of Sambal and Abul Fazal² also mentions it as there. The places were and are still inhabited by Pathans. Most probably the date of Ramzan, 1086, given by the historian, Mustaid Khan³ Saqi. as that on which Amir Khan⁴ came from Bihar to the court is not correct and Amir Khan must have been in Shajehanpur and Kantgola in U. P. having been deputed to assist Namdar⁴ Khan, the successor of Sadaat Khan in the government of Awadh and it was from there that he sent an Arzdasht, according to the historian, to the effect that the imperial army had captured the above mentioned Afghans in the Fort where they had taken refuge and that they were being despatched to the court with Ibrahim Khan who was on his way from Bengal. Fortunately, the present writer has recently discovered a number of valuable⁵ documents one of which is a Sanad, dated 17th Shawwal, 1086, and containing the Seal of Amir Khan Muide Alamgir Shah, renewing the grants of 50 Bighas, of land in Saadullahpur Satana in Pargana Haweli, Hajipur Sarkar (Bihar), to Sheikh Bayazid, the keeper of the Mausoleum⁶ of

Athmal Gola and tells us that it was 1½ course (Kos) from Rani Sarai. It is situated just to the south of the river Ganges, not far from Barh. But it can not be identified with Kant Gola which and Shahjahanpur are, according to Blochman, Beveridge, and Elliot, in Rohilkhand. A. N. II 636. B 373 E V 498 supp. Gloss 109.

1 M. T.

2 A. N.

3 M. A.

4 *Ibid.* Instances are not wanting of such a deputation of the Governor of Bihar outside the province for suppressing the rebellions Rajahs and Chiefs. Abdullah K. Firoz Jung had often to march outside Bihar to suppress powerful rebels in Ramtanbhor and in the Bundella territories and then return to his province during the time of Shahjahan.

5 They are in possession of Shaikh Nasiruddin Saheb of Jaruha.

6 It was a beautiful and well-preserved building when the writer first saw it in 1912 but the Earth-quake of 1934 has left it in a badly damaged and dilapidated condition. When the writer visited it in the last month (February) a basalt stone slab of the adjoining roofless mosque containing an inscription which says that it was built by Haji Chand Shaista Khani in 1071 (1660) was discovered among the heaps. But the mausoleum is said to have been erected in the time and at the instance of Raja

Manmoon Bhanja at Jaruha, Hajipur. The date of this document is one month and 8 days later than 9th Ramzan when Amir Khan is perhaps wrongly said to have arrived at court and been replaced in the government of Bihar by Tarbiat Khan.

Shafiullah¹ Barlas, better known as Tarbiat Khan, was a Mansabdar of 4000,3000, and he had already served in Kabul and Bulkh, and as an envey to Iran, and had held charge of Oudh and Orissa before he was sent to Bihar in the 19th year of the reign. He should not be confused with Fakhruddin Ahmad² Bakshi who came to India from Turan in the reign of Jahanger and had been given the title of Tarbiat Khan. Nothing is known about the brief period of a year and a few months when the administration of Bihar was vested in Shafiullah or Tarbiat Khan. He was sent on the 19th Safar³ 1088 or 14th April, 1677, as the Faujdar or Military Commander of Tirhut and Darbhanga in place of Hadi Khan, and prince Azam, the 3rd son of the Emperor, was appointed Governor of Bihar. The prince was granted 5 crore Dams by way of Inam. He actually arrived at Patna on the 14th⁴ Jamadi II, 1088 or 24th July 1677. His tenure of office in Bihar was also very brief for he was soon transferred to Bengal to hold charge of that province in place of Azam Khan⁵ Koka, formerly known as Fedai Khan. Azam Khan had been appointed to Bengal in place of Shaista Khan in the beginning of 1088 or 8th October 1677, but he had hardly been in the province for a year when he was ordered to vacate it in favour of prince Azam. The English records dated December 1677 say "Auzum Cawne⁶, formerly Phuddy Cawne, the new Suba of Bengal arrived at Hoogly". "In February 1678", says another note, "Shaista Cawne arrived at Patna and visited the prince and departed next day for Delhi".

Shiv Singh of Tirhut in pre Mughal days. The descendants of the original custodian claim to have had in their possessions farmans and sanads from the time of Firoz Shah Tughlak to Shah Alam II and Raja Shitab Rai, Naib Nazim of Bihar, in the 18th century.

¹ Life in M. U. He died on 27th Shaaban, 1096, as the Faujdar of Jaunpur. But the author of T. M gives 1098 as the year of his death.

² Life in M. U.

³ M. A.

⁴ *Ibid*,

⁵ Life in M. U.

⁶ Factory Records, of Hugli quoted in T. B. 148-9.

On June 26, the factors of Hoogly wrote to Balasore confirming the fact about "the prince having the Government of Bengal bestowed on him and of his entrance into Rajmahal," "We have advised that he is proceeded thence to Dacca" Azam Khan was on his way to Bihar when he died at Dacca, on 12th^r Rabi II, 1082, or 25th May 1678.

The place of Prince Azam in Bihar was taken by Saifuddin Mahmood alias Mirza Faqirullah and entitled Saif² Khan. The new Governor was the 2nd son of Tarbiat Khan, formerly known as Fakhruddin Ahmad Bakshi, who had died in³ 1052 A. H. 1642. He had deserted and fought against Dara, escorted the latter's son Sepah Shikoh, to Gawaliar, and had been favoured with ranks or Mansubs and the Subedari's of Agra, Kashmir, and Multan before he was sent to Bihar in the 21st year of the reign or May 1678. The duration of his rule in Bihar has been wrongly taken by the authorities, old and modern, native and foreigners, to have been longer than what it actually was. Most of the Persian authorities have taken it to have extended up to the 26th year of the reign. The 19th⁴ Rabi I, 1094, or 11th March 1673, is the date given by the author of Maasir when "Saif Khan came from Bihar to the Court."—Of course elsewhere⁵ the same historian mentions Saif Khan as the Subedar of Allahabad who died there on 25th Ramzan, year 28 the or 27th August 1684. Kamwar Khan and Shahnawaz Khan blindly follow Mustaid Khan Saqi. As regards Stewart he has gone to the absurd length when he says that "Syf Khan" was the Governor of Bihar in 1095 or 1684. Even the English date, 1682, given by him is incorrect. Referring to a letter of Job Charnoc, dated 9th December 1686, that "Seef Cawne plundered out of Factories at Patna by 1000, Foot and 500 horse, putting Mr. Meverelle in Irons", Mr. Ray tells us that "the Patna Factory had been plundered⁶ and Mr. Meverelle put in irons by Saif Cawne in 1684". Even Sir. J. N. Sarkar places the rebellion of Ganga Ram Nagar in March

1 M. A.

2 Life in M. U.

3 T. M.

4 M. A., T. S. ch. M. U.

5 M. A.

6 S. B. 309.

7 Early Annals of English in Bihar.

1681 in the time of Saif Khan and says that "the weak and miserly Governor¹ of Bihar, Saif Khan, was dismissed by the Emperor for his cowardly and incompetent handling of the situation". Unfortunately The greatest living Indian Historian, it has to be respectfully submitted, did not consider it worthwhile to go into details and mention in his monumental history of Aurangzeb the actual date of the dismissal of the Governor of Bihar or the source from which he derived the information about Saif Khan being punished by the Emperor. Of course he refers to Stewart who is not always reliable. Stewart has relied upon Orme's, Historical Fragments where the present writer finds no mention of Ganga Ram's rebellion, and perhaps also upon English Factory records of Singhia, in north Bihar, "the chief of which, Mr. Peacock; is said to² have been" imprisoned by Saif Khan, the Nawab of Patna on suspicion of being in league with rebels". But these and Bruce's Annals are not available easily to check his statement. The fact is that most of the writers have confused Saif Khan with his successor, Safi Khan, son of Islam Khan Mashadi.

The evidences furnished by the Akhbarat-i- Darbar-1-³ Moalla and by a valuable document⁴ discovered by the present writer, as also certain other factors stand in the way of our accepting a long and continued rule of Saif Khan over Bihar from the year 21st to the year 26th and much less to 1784 which means the year 29th or 1096. And Saif Khan was neither an incompetent man nor miserly. He was a capable man and a connoisseur of Arts and literature. He was the author of a book on music, a poet himself, and patron of poets. Of course he was also a hot tempered, carefree, and a Bohemian type of

¹ S. A.

² Stewart's Bengal.

³ Sarkar's mss. The writer feels greatly indebted to his revered Guru, the great historian, for allowing him to consult his manuscripts at his residence in Calcutta in December last.

⁴ This and some other precious old papers are in possession of Shaikh Nasir-uddin Saheb of Jaruha in Hajipur. Unfortunately, the Shaikh Saheb refused the request of the writer to take notes from many of his documents.

⁵ See M. U. Some of the biographical dictionaries of the Persian poets contain references to, and a few verses from, Saif Khan. The well-known Persian Poet, Ali Sarhindi, bemoans the sad death of Saif Khan. The Persian Scholar-administrator Mir Muiz Musvi, Fitrat wrote a number of letters to Saif Khan which have come down to us.

a man, who often fell from¹ office or chose a life of retirement but was very soon after taken into his favour by the Emperor and restored to his ranks and offices because of his loyalty, worth and services. There is absolutely no indication anywhere, however, that he lost his job in Bihar because of his inefficiency. Neither Mustaid Khan Saqi nor Shahnawaz Khan say anything as to when and why he was transferred to Allahabad. From the list of the Subedars of Allahabad given in Dasturul-² Amal of O. P. L. it appears that Himmat Khan, son of Islam Khan, was appointed to that province in the 20th year while Saif Khan, son of Tarbiat Khan, was sent as its Governor in the 27th year of the reign, and on his death, in the 28th year, Mohtasham Khan, son of Sheikh Mir, took his place. Mustaid³ Khan mentions Himmat Khan as the Subedar of Allahabad in the year 23rd and says that he was exalted to the office of the 1st Bakshi on the 10th Shawwal, year 24th, or 25th October 1680. That the list given in Dasturul-Amal is incomplete is obvious and that the information about Saif Khan's appointment to Allahabad in the year 27th or 1094 is also incorrect, is quite evident from the clear reference in the same news item of the Akhbarat, to both Saif Khan, Subedar of Allahabad, and Saif Khan, Subedar of Bihar, the revenue of whose provinces were called⁴ up in Shawwal, year 25th, 1092 or October 1681. Though there is no mention of it anywhere, certain evidences at our disposal lead us to the conclusion that Saif Khan must have been recalled from Bihar at the end of the year 23rd⁵ or early in the year 24th and made to replace Himmat Khan in Allahabad, his place being taken in Bihar at about the same time by Saif Khan, son of Islam Khan Mashhadi.

¹ M. A; M. U.

² See the notes on this ms. in P. I. H. R. C. S. Poona.

³ M. A. Kujhwa Ms.

⁴ Akhbarats.

⁵ Bhimsen, the author of Dilkusha (a complete and old copy of which bearing the seal of the owner, Diwan Nasir Ali, dated 1213 belongs to Kujhwa, the writer's village in Saran), mentions Safi Khan, son of Islam Khan, as the Subedar of district Patna in the year 23rd of the year.

(To be Continued)

THE LATER MAURYAS
AND
THE FALL OF THE EMPIRE

By BUDHA PRAKASH, M. A.

Section A.

Sources and Authorities.

एतये च अठये अयो ध्रमदिपि दिपिस्त किति पुत्र पपोत्र मे असु नवं बिजयं म विजेतवियं
मजिबु ! (षयकषि) यो विजये छंति च नहुदंडतं च रोचेतु तं एवं विज मय यो ध्रमविजयो
सो हिदलोकिको परलोकिको ।

Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII

(Shāhbāzgarhi version.)

In these words Aśoka himself laid down the policy to be pursued by his successors both in internal and external affairs.

Soon after the passing away of the great emperor we notice the disintegration of his mighty empire. Of his successors we have confused and conflicting accounts in the Purāṇas, which differ not only among themselves, but each among its own different manuscripts. Likewise the Buddhist and Jain sources are meagre and clashing and unfortunately for us, the classical literature also vouchsafes no light. This much all the Purāṇic accounts agree upon that the total duration of the Maurya empire is 137 years, but, strange to say, the totals of the reigns, detailed therein, when added together, in no case agree with this aggregate of 137 years. In the Matsya version given on page 27 of Pargiter's "Dynasties of the Kali age," this total is 146 years, while in the 'E Vāyu' Version (ibid, p. 28) it comes up to 240 years and in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa versions collated together by Pargiter, it is only 133. One Matsya manuscript quoted in the introduction of Krishnama chāriar's "Classical Sanskrit literature" gives this total as 300 years, and is followed in this respect by the Kaliyugarājavarṇitānta of the Bhaviṣyottara-Purāṇa noted for the first time by that author. The

Mahāvamśa is silent about India after Aśoka. The Divyāvadāna really goes further, but the incredibility of its account is avouched by the simple fact that it describes Puṣyamitra as a descendant of the Mauryas. As for the Jain Paṛiśiṣṭaparvan it ends with Samprati.

Now to give the names of the kings and the duration of their reigns as recorded by various authorities, the Matsya version of Pargiter goes thus : (1) Chandra—gupta [no duration of his reign is given], (2) Aśoka (36 years) [Bindusāra is left out]; (3) a relative (Naptri) of Aśoka (17 years); (4) Daśaratha (8 years); (5) Samprati (9 years); (6) Śatadhanvan (6 years); (7) Brihadratha (70 years).

The 'E Vāyu' of Pargiter gives this list in this way: (1) Chandra-gupta (24 years), (2) Nandasāra (25 years), (3) Aśoka (36 years), (4) Kuṇāla (8 years), (5) Bandhapālita (8 years), (6) Daśona (7 years), (7) Daśaratha (8 years), (8) Samprati (9 years), (9) Śāliśūka (13 years), (10) Devadharman (7 years), (11) Śatadhanus (8 years), (12) Bṛihadraṭha (87 years).

The 'Vā-genly and Bd.' version runs as follows:—(1) Chandra-gupta (24 years); (2) Bhadrāsāra (25 years), (3) Aśoka (36 years), (4) Kuṇāla (8 years), (5) Bandhapālita (8 years), (6) Indrapālita (10 years), (7) Devadharman (7 years), (8) Śatadhanus (8 years), (9) Bṛihadraṭha (7 years).

The newly discovered Bhaviṣṣyottara-Purāṇa gives a long list which reads thus:—(1) Chandragupta (34 years); (2) Bindusāra (28 years); (3) Aśoka (36 years), (4) Supārśva (8 years), (5) Bandhapālita (8 years), (6) Indrapālita (70 years), (7) Saṅgata (9 years), (8) Śāliśūka (13 years), (9) Devadharman (7 years), (10) Śatadhanus (8 years) (11) Brihadratha (28 years).

Tārānatha writes thus:—(1) Kuṇāla, (2) Vigatāśoka, (3) Vira-sena.

The Divyāvadāna notes:—(1) Samprati, (2) Brihaspati, (3) Vṛiṣa-sena, (4) Puṣyadharman, (5) Puṣyamitra.

Kalhana in his Rājatarāṅginī mentions Jalauka as the son and successor of Aśoka in Kashmere and after him Dāmodara about whose origin Kalhana himself is in doubt.

About some of these monarchs we learn from other sources also. Thus about Daśaratha we know from his dedicatory inscriptions in the Nāgarjuni hills ; about Samprati we know from Hemachandra's Pa-

śiṣṭaparvan, Jinaprabhasūris' Pāṭali-Putrakalpa and the Jain work Bhadrabāhucharitam as well as the Divyāvadāna.

About Śāliśūka we learn something from the Yugapurāṇa of the Gārgī Samhitā, and about Brihadratha, Bāna's Harṣacharitam gives us some interesting details. All of these four kings, as also Kuṇāla, are said to have ruled in Pāṭaliputra. Hence we have no doubt as to their historicity. Furthur, we know that Aśoka died in 236 B. C. taking B. C. 321 to be the approximate date of the accession of Chandra Gupta. The last date of the Maurya Dynasty thus works out as 184 B. C.—[321-137—total duration of the Maurya Dynasty as noticed above]—the date evidently of Puṣyamitra's Coṭp. Therefore the time between the demise of Aśoka and the extinction of the dynasty is (236 B. C.—184 B. C.) *i. e.*, 52 years.

Chronology

Of these kings, noticed above, Brihadratha is said to have ruled for 28 years in the Bhaviṣyottara-Purāṇa, 7 years in the 'Vā genly and Bd.', 87 years in E Yāyu and 70 years in the Matsya Purāṇa. The last two terms *i. e.* 87 and 70 are precluded by themselves as impossible for we have only 52 years between Aśoka and Puṣyamitra. As regards the 'Vā genly and Bd.' version, according to which he reigned for 7 years, we have to notice that the Purāṇas as well as the Harṣacharitam concur in allotting to him a ripe old age and the Bhaviṣyottara-Purāṇa, as we shall presently see, credits him with extensive conquests and a flourishing rule. Hence the period of 7 years allotted to Brihadratha is too short. Against all these statements we have the definite remark of the Bhaviṣyottara-Purāṇa, which gives him a reign of 28 years. Moreover it should not also be lost sight of that the ruling-periods of the princelings who came after Aśoka were so short and fleeting that the comparatively long reign of Brihadratha left an impression of immense length on the minds of the Purāṇic chroniclers so much so that they lost all sense of proportions and exaggeratedly gave 70 and 87 years to that monarch. These considerations lead us to accept the term of 28 years, as noted by the Bhaviṣyottara-Purāṇa.

As regards Śāliśūka we come across his name in the Bhaviṣyottara-Purāṇa and the 'E-Vāyu' of Pargiter and both these accounts agree in giving him a term of 13 years, which we may take for granted.

Coming to Samprati, we find that the Matsya version gives him a reign of 9 years and the 'E-Vāyu' of Pargiter agrees with it. In the Bhaviṣyottara list we find a name Saṅgata who is said to have reigned for 9 years and likewise Sammati of the Matsya Purāṇa, quoted by Dr. Krishnama chariar, is also given a period of 9 years. If Sammati and Saṅgata are taken as variants of Samprati, the wonderful concord is established among four records that he reigned for 9 years.

Adding up these reign-periods—9 years of Samprati, 13 of Śāliśūka and 28 of Brihadratha,—we get the total of 50 years. Considering the fact that the death of the reigning king in Maurya times was followed by a fight for the throne, there being no law of succession and the special usage recorded in the Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra : आत्मसम्पन्नं सैन्यपत्ये यौवराज्ये वा संस्थापयेत् and न चेपुत्रमविना तं राज्ये स्थापयेत् (Artha. p. 35) and above all the fact of the disputed succession of Aśoka, we are not too wide the mark if we allow the brief period of 2 years (52 years—50 years of Samprati, Śāliśūka and Brihadratha) to such dynastic troubles and family discords. Thus we perceive that the period between Aśoka and Puṣyamitra *i. e.* 52 years is occupied by 3 reigns—those of Samprati, Śāliśūka and Brihadratha. As regards their chronological position, Samprati is unanimously regarded as succeeding Aśoka both in Jain and Buddhist records and Brihadratha is decidedly the last of the Mauryas. Therefore Śāliśūka comes midway between them.

We have also some evidence as to a war of succession following the period of Samprati. The Yugapurāṇa of the Gārgī Saṃhitā at one place says :

ऋतुक्षा-कर्मसुतः शालिशूको भविष्यति ।
 स राजा कर्मसुतो दुष्टात्मा प्रियविग्रहः ।
 स्वराष्ट्रं मर्दते घोरं धर्मवादी अधार्मिकः ।
 स ज्येष्ठं भ्रातरं साधुं केतेति (हत्वा वि) प्रथितं गुणैः ।
 स्थापयिष्यति मोहात्मा विजयं नाम धार्मिकम् ।

(Quoted by Kern in his preface of Brihat-Saṃhitā, p. 36.)

The text obviously is very corrupt and Professor Kern deduces the conclusion that after killing his elder brother, Śāliśūka "will establish his virtuous brother Vijaya" (ibid, p. 37). The incorrectness of Professor

Kern's assertion is obvious on the very surface, for there appears no connection between killing his elder brother and installing one named Vijaya on the throne, when Śāliśūka himself was the king. Moreover, as K. P. Jayaswal aptly suggested 'Vijaya' is not here used as a proper name, but means the "conquest of Dhamma", which Śāliśūka, the 'mohātmā' (it is a parody of the title देवान्पिय of Aśoka's epigraphs) is said to have established, I think, in imitation of his illustrious great-grandfather. (J. B. O. R. S., 1930.) What the passage clearly signifies is that Śāliśūka disposed of his elder brother, to whom the throne rightfully belonged, and himself usurped the kingdom. According to our chronology this followed after Samprati and we are not much beyond the truth, if we allot the period of 2 years to these disturbances. Now to sum up, our chronology of the Later Mauryas comes to be the following :—

B. C.	236	..	Aśoka's death and Samprati's accession to the throne.
B. C.	227	..	Samprati's death.
B. C.	226—25	..	War of succession and the death of the elder brother of Śāliśūka.
B. C.	225	..	Śāliśūka's accession.
B. C.	212	..	Śāliśūka's death and Brihadratha's accession.
B. C.	184	..	The Coup d'état of Puṣyamitra, assassination of Brihadratha and the end of the Mauryan rule.

The problem of Daśāratha

But Daśāratha, the grandson of Aśoka, according to some Purāṇas, whose identity is strongly avouched by the Nāgārjuni Cave inscriptions, finds no place in this chronology. Fortunately for us, however, a passage from the Parīśiṣṭaparvan of Hemachandra tends to illumine the whole spectrum. In Canto IX we read :

राजा प्रवाच हे वत्स किं राज्येन करिष्याति ।

तत्ते स्यादन्यसादेव दैवापहृत-चक्षुषः ॥४६॥

व्याजिज्ञपत्कुमारोऽपि तात जातोऽस्ति मे सुतः ।

पौत्रेण वर्धसे दिष्ट्या राज्येऽस्मिन् सोऽभिषिच्यताम् ॥४६॥

प्रपच्छाशोक राजोऽपि कदोत्पदे सुतस्तव ।

At this place a puzzling difficulty makes its appearance viz that

सम्प्रत्येवेत्यकथयत्कुणालोऽपि कृताञ्जलिः ॥ ५० ॥

तदेव तमशोकश्रीः समानाययदर्भकम् ।

नामापि सम्प्रतिरिति तथ्याकृत कृतोत्सवः ॥ ५१ ॥

The name Samprati was given to the son of Kuṇāla in view of the fact that as soon as king Aśoka asked for some son of Kuṇāla, the latter pointed to his son who was immediately born. Thus Samprati was only a sobriquet of Kuṇāla's son, exactly as Kuṇāla was the sobriquet of Aśoka's son Dharmavivardhana, given to him on account of his being as sweet-tongued as the Kuṇāla bird (cf. Divyāvadāna p. 406). If Samprati was a sobriquet, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he had some other personal name and here I hazard the proposal that Daśaratha was the real name of the king, who in his inscriptions gives his real name, but in legends is known by his title i. e. Samprati.

The Question of Kuṇāla.

Now comes the question of Kuṇāla, who is universally regarded by Brāhmaṇa, Buddhist and Jain traditions as the son and successor of Aśoka. Dr. F. W. Thomas identifies him with Kustana, mentioned in Tibetan legends as the son of Aśoka who colonized Khoten. (Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 507). This view is corroborated by the Chinese biographer of Hiuen-Tsang, Hui-Li, who says in the former's biography: "The first ancestor of the king of Khoten was the eldest son of king Asoka and resided in the kingdom of Takṣasīlā" (Beal's tr.). Fa-hien also mentions a certain Dharmavivardhana as reigning in Afghanistan under Aśoka, and curiously enough the Divyāvadāna describes Dharmavivardhana as the proper name of Kuṇāla. Dr. B. M. Barua goes a step further and identifies Kuṇāla with Prince Tivala, son of Kāruvāki, mentioned in the celebrated Queen's edict, inscribed on the Sāñchi Pillar (cf. Barua: Aśoka Edicts in a new light). Kuṇāla, we know further, was blinded as a consequence of the intrigues of his step-mother Tiṣyarakshitā. Not only is this incident referred to in the Divyāvadāna and the Paṛiśiṣṭaparvan but Hiuen-Tsang also lends the weight of his authority to it. According to him the kingdom of Khoten was founded by the Chinese in collaboration with the Indians, "who were banished from Takṣasīlā by Aśoka for having put out the eyes of his eldest son, who dwelt at Takṣasīlā

(Beal's tr.).” Thus we find that Kuṇāla was in reality the son of Aśoka and the episode of his blindness is not without any substance of truth. As regards his succession to the throne the Divyāvadāna and the Parīṣiṣṭaparvan clearly affirm that he did not succeed to the throne owing to his blindness and that his son Samprati succeeded in his stead. But the Purāṇas give a term of reign to him and the E—Vāyu and ‘Va genly and Bd.’ clearly say that he reigned for 8 years. “Kuṇāla’s position was probably like that of Dhritarāṣṭra of the Epic and though nominally regarded as the sovereign he was physically unfit to carry on the work of administration, which was presumably entrusted to his favourite son Samprati, who is described by Jain and Buddhist writers as the immediate successor of Aśoka” (Ray Choudhury : Political History of Ancient India, p. 291).

The Problem of Partition and other Kings.

Now I come to the consideration of the conclave of kings and princelings referred to in the Purāṇas and other literary works as Maurya sovereigns. At one time Dr. V. A. Smith expressed the view that there was a formal division of the Maurya empire after Aśoka, but in the 3rd edition of his ‘Asoka’, page 70, he admits that the hypothesis that Aśoka left two grandsons of whom one Daśaratha succeeded him in the Eastern and the other (Samprati) in his Western dominions, is little more than a guess. Dr. F. W. Thomas almost reiterated the view of V. A. Smith. “The extreme confusion reigning in the legends”, he maintains, “is probably to be explained by a division of the empire beginning after Samprati.” (Cambridge History of India, I. p. 512). But the hollowness of this view is apparent, for we find no evidence beyond a convenient conjecture to explain away the multiplicity of Mauryan rulers, mentioned by our authorities in support of this thesis.

As a matter of fact, there was a partition of the empire but not after Samprati as Dr. F. W. Thomas holds and not between Samprati and Daśaratha, as Dr. V. A. Smith once maintained. It was the result of self-aggrandisement on the part of Jalauka and tacit acquiescence on the part of Samprati. Regarding Jalauka, the son of Aśoka, who assumed independence in Kashmere after the death of the latter, Kalhana says

that he launched a campaign of conquest and aggrandizement and his depredations reached up to Kanauj.

जित्वोर्वी कान्यकुब्जादौ तत्रत्यं स न्यवेशयत् ।
चातुर्वर्त्यं निजे देशे धर्म्याश्च व्यवहारिणः ॥

(Rājatarāṅginī I, 117)

Samprati, peace-loving and non-violent according to the spirit of the Jain canon, connived at these losses and gladly satisfied himself with his sway over the other half of India. Hemachandra refers to his sphere of influence as follows :

क्रमेण साधयामास भारतार्धं सदक्षिणम् ।
प्रवण्डशासनश्चाभूत् पाकशासनसन्निभः ॥

(Pariśiṣṭaparvan IX, 54)

Thus it is clear that Eastern India and the Deccan were ruled over by Samprati-Daśaratha and his successors mentioned above, whilst Western India up to Kanauj was under the sway of another branch line, about which we shall write in detail below.

Cause of confusion about other kings.

In this connection we should go back to the days of Aśoka when princes of the royal blood were appointed as Provincial governors at Takṣaśilā, Tosālī, Suvarṇagiri and Ujjain, but after the mighty arm of the great emperor was withdrawn many of these princely governors became to all intents and purposes independent. We have noticed the case of Jalauka and we shall come to the Khotenese branch a little later. These kings were almost on a par with the central authority stationed at Pāṭliputra and hence the chroniclers were at their wit's end as to how they should connect them in the main narrative. With their usual lack of historical sense they could think of no other way but to describe them as successors of Aśoka. This caused confusion of their accounts. In our present state of knowledge it is almost impossible to describe the careers of these sovereigns, to locate the seats of their power and to attempt a narrative of their activities.

The North-Western Scene.

In the extreme north of India Polybus mentions a king Sophogsenus whom he calls the king of the Indians and with whom Antiochus

of Bactria renewed his traditional friendship. That Sophagsenus or Subhāgasena was no petty princeling and that his Bactrian ally had to court him on terms of equality is obvious from the statement of Polybus himself.

"He (Antiochus the Great) crossed the Caucasus and descended into India, renewed his friendship with Sophagsensus, the king of the Indians; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether and having once more provisioned his troops set out again personally with his army leaving Androstenes of Cyzicus, the duty of taking home the treasure, which this king had agreed to hand over to him."

(Quoted in M'crindle's, India as described in Classical literature)

A king named Virasena is mentioned by Tāranātha as a successor of Aśoka and considering the similarity of names Dr. F. W. Thomas takes him to be a predecessor of Subhāgasena (Cambridge History I, p. 512). If this conjecture is right, then we may believe that a new line of Mauryas was established in the North-West, which governed not only the provinces of Asia, Arachosia Paropanisdæ and Gedrosia which Seleucus had ceded to Chandragupta, but dominated the regions of the Indus valley as well.

In Kashmere we have seen Jalauka proclaiming his independence and extending his authority up to Kānyakubja. One leading event of his reign was an attempted invasion of the Greeks. After the pyrrhic triumph of Alexander and the ignominious capitulation of Seleucus the Greeks were always on a look-out for some opportunity to avenge themselves on the Indians. So immediately after the decease of Aśoka they swooped upon the North-West of India in formidable numbers. (Mlechchhāśchāditamaṇḍalāḥ). It required the strength of a great Maurya to hurl them back and teach them the old lesson of India's independence. Fortunately that Maurya was born in Jalauka in whose veins the blood of his great predecessor Chandragupta circulated. He, with his invincible prowess (Akharvavikrama), beat them back at a hard-fought struggle at Ujjhatadimba and carried his victorious arms up to the shores of the sea. The Rājatarāṅginī gives some details of this conflict.

स रुद्रवसुधान्तेच्छान्निर्वास्याखर्वविक्रमः ।

जिगाय जैत्रयात्राभिर्महीमर्णवमेखलाम् ॥

ते यत्रोद्भूतिवास्तेन म्लेच्छाश्छादितमण्डलाः ।
स्थानमुद्भूतडिम्बं तज्जनैरद्यापि गद्यते ॥

—Raj. I, 115-116.

After this success, Jalauka, as we have seen, rushed up to Kānya-Kubja. The Rājatarāṅginī describes him as a staunch Brahman. "The king had for his spiritual preceptor an erudite philosopher who had defeated an assembly of puffed-up Buddhist debators, who were powerful in those days" (R. S. Pandit's tr.). After becoming a firm believer in the professions of the Brahmanical order he rehabilitated the four-fold caste-bound system which was out of gear as a result of the Buddhist propaganda of Aśoka. Jalauka also married in local Nāga families and "carried to perfection the youth of the Nāga maidens by the joys of love". Lastly, he established a stable administration. "Having created the 18 departments of state, the king from that time inaugurated the constitutional system of Yudhiṣṭhira." But as the times were stormy no conspicuous success could be attained in the promotion of trade and commerce. "Not having attained development as it should have by means of trade, wealth and the like, the administration of the kingdom was like that of an ordinary state at that time." Infatuated as a Śaiva he tyrannized over the Buddhists and demolished many of their Vihāras. Ultimately he "entered into Chīramohana together with his wife and attained communion with the Lord of Pārvatī" (R. S. Pandit's tr.).

His successor in Kashmere was Dāmodar, though not his son. Kalhaṇa says: "Highly resplendent with material resources was the king who was the crest jewel of the Śaiva worshippers and one hears of his spiritual prowess even to this day as a marvel of this world." (R. S. Pandit's tr.).

After Dāmodar the dynasty disappears. Most probably the kingdom of Kashmere was engulfed within the dominions of Virasena and his successor Subhāgasena, who ruled in the North-Western regions of India. After their decline and disappearance the kingdom of Kashmere seems to have gone under the Greeks and then under the Kuṣāṇas, with whom Kalhaṇa resumes his narrative.

Conterminous with this kingdom was another of Khoten, ruled over by a line of the Mauryas. We learn from Tibetan sources,

translated by Rockhills in his "Life of Budhha" that the Maurya line in Khoten assumed unfettered independence after Aśoka and Kuṇāla. Kuṇāla's successors in Khoten were Vijaya Sambhava, Vijaya Vīrya, Vijaya Simha and Vijaya Kīrti. That all of these sovereigns are not legendary is vouched for by a Kharoṣṭhī inscription of Avijidsimpha, found by Sir Aurul Stein in Khoten.

The Eastern Theatre.

We have noted the march of events in the West and now it is high time to return to the East and study the doings of the Imperial Mauryas. We have also seen how Samprati-Daśaratha, the successor of Aśoka to the throne of Magadha, contented himself by his dominion over Magadha and the Deccan. An exaggerated echo of his accomplishments has been preserved in the Pāṭaliputra Kalpa of Jinaprabhasūri, which relates:—

"In Pāṭaliputra flourished the great king Samprati, the son of Kuṇāla, lord of Bhārata with its 3 continents, the great Arhat, who established Viharās for Śramaṇas even in non-Aryan countries."

The inaccuracy of this remark is manifest from the statement of Hema Chandra that Samprati-Daśaratha ruled only over the half of India along with the Deccan, the Western half being first under Jalauka and Dāmodar and then under Vīrasena and Subhāgasena. Now we follow Hema Chandra as a chronicler of the reign of Samprati-Daśaratha.

Samprati-Daśaratha (B. C. 236-227) was a devout Jain and in his zeal for Jainism he walked in the foot-step of his grandfather Aśoka. His heart was filled with compassion for the living world (जीवदयातरङ्गितमनाः) and ever busy in his work of benefaction (अवदानरतो) he gave away his treasury to those who deserved it. In all the chief cities alms-houses were established where food was distributed to the needy (तत्रानिवारितं प्राणुर्भोजनं भोजनेच्छवः). He also got it proclaimed that the merchants who will minister to the needs of the ascetics and saints would be recompensed by the state. All this was due to the king's contact with a Jain saint Suhastiswāmin.

Samprati-Daśaratha emulated his grandfather in architectural activity. He studded the soil of India with Jain shrines:

आवैतादयः प्रतापादयः स चकाराविकारधीः ।

त्रिखण्डं भारतक्षेत्रं जिनायतनमण्डितम् ॥

In the propagation of the Faith also he did not lag behind his grandfather. His missionary efforts were spread over a wide area including Prāntadeśa and he sent religious missions to the lands of the 'non-Aryans (foreigners)' and the 'Andhras and Dravidians'. To quote Hema Chandra.

सम्प्रतिश्चिन्तयामास निशीथसमयेऽन्यदा ।

अनार्येष्वपि साधूनां विहारं वर्तयाम्यहम् ॥

ततः प्रैषीदनायेषु साधुवेषधरान्नरान् ।

ते सम्प्रत्याज्ञयानार्यानिवसन्वशिषन्भृशम् ॥

एवं राज्ञोऽतिनिर्वन्धादाचार्यैः केऽपि साधवः ।

विहर्तुमादिदिशिरे ततोऽन्ध्रद्रमिलादिषु ॥

एवं सम्प्रतिराजेन स्वशक्त्या बुद्धिगर्भया

देशाः साधुविहारार्हा अनार्या अपि चक्रिरे ॥

Not only did he give them 'the light and the law' but also benefited them with the fruits of his philanthropy. As the above quotation shows he made the countries of the non-Aryans fit for the residence of the saints.

Then he collected together his subordinates and Sāmantas and in their midst declared that he cared not a fig for their money and tributes (द्रव्यैरपि न मे किञ्चित् युष्मद्वत्तैः प्रयोजनम्) What he wanted was that they may receive from him "happiness and not sorrow" and strive for their post-natal betterment by worshipping the saints and ascetics and by showing regard for the learned and the enlightened. The result of his admonitions was not insignificant for Hema Chandra says :—

एवमाज्ञाप्य सामन्ताः विसृष्टाः स्वस्वनिवृत्तिः ।

गत्वा चक्रुः स्वामिभक्त्या श्रमणानामुपासनम् ॥

His regard was not confined to the Jains alone as his cave dedications to the Ājivikas excavated in the Nāgarjuni hills show. In the edicts inscribed in these caves the Ājivikas are addressed as 'Bhadanta' which shows how much influence they had on the king's mind. Hema Chandra also gives a glowing description of the proces-

sions taken out by him in Avantī. Lastly the great scholar sums up the character and achievements of the Jain emperor as follows :—

अयं निजः परो वायमित्यपेक्षाविवर्जितम् ।

He lost the sense that this belongs to me and this to others).

Śāliśūka (B. C. 225-212)

Samprati-Daśratha's successor to the throne was Śāliśūka, who, as the *Yugapurāṇa* of the *Gārgī Saṃhitā* shows, waded to the throne through a pool of blood by killing his elder brother. Śāliśūka also belonged to the heretical order. He is described as (*Duṣṭātmā*) of evil mind, and quarrelsome (*Priyavigrahaḥ*). He seems to have had great religious discussions and himself participated in them like Janaka of Videha (cf. *Dharmavādi adhārmikaḥ*). Like Aśoka and Samprati-Daśratha he also inaugurated the conquest of the Law of Piety. (cf. *स्थापयिष्यति मोहत्मा विजयं नाम धार्मिकम्*) But the machinery of administration fell out of gear as a consequence of the religious inclinations of these monarchs and the people must have felt great trouble.

Brihadratha (B. C. 212-184)

The successor of Śāliśūka was Brihadratha. For his reign we have a new source of information in the *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta* of the *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa*. He was a great warrior and realizing the laxity of government and the inefficiency of administration, brought about by the apathy of the philosopher—kings who preceded him, he strained his nerves to give up their philosophic inertia and determined to restore the fallen greatness of the empire. Like another Jarāśandha he conquered all the Kṣatriyas and established a sound government in the state :

बृहद्रथस्तु तत्पुत्रो जरासन्ध इवापरः ।

क्षत्रियानखिलान् जित्वा महाराजो भविष्यति ॥

अष्टाशीतिन्तु वर्षाणि स राष्ट्रं पालयिष्यति ।

(Quoted in Krishnamāchariār's "Classical Sanskrit Literature"). So far as his religious policy is concerned he appears to be a sound materialistic man who did not commit himself to any denominational religion and followed a course of 'live and let live' in affairs ecclesiastical. The great general Puṣyamitra served under him and most of his conquest and successes were due to the former. But now the

Brahmanical discontent was smouldering on to bring about a great conflagration and it seems to have affected the armies as well. Placing himself on the crest of this wave of discontent, Puṣyamitra, himself longing for the throne performed the famous coup of 184 B.C. Once while the aged king was busy reviewing his armies, the general Puṣyamitra, with the implicit connivance of the armies, stabbed him to death, as is recorded in the oft-quoted passage of the Harṣacharitam. Thus ended the last of the great Mauryas.

The Aftermath of the Coup d'état.

The murder of Brihadratha was the signal for the advance of foreigners. Under Demetrios, the Greeks swooped down the North-Western passes and occupied the capital of the frontier-Taxila. Demetrios then divided his forces into two sections—one under Menander advanced up to Pāṭaliputra and the other under Apollodotos marched down the Indus Valley and captured Mādhyamikā and probably also Ujjain. In between these two arms of the pincers was sandwiched Puṣyamitra along with his forces at Avantī. And there is no knowing what would have become of him had the two arms of the pincer under Menander and Appollodotos, two brilliant generals and still more skilful politicians, met together. But history was to be written otherwise. Eucratides invaded the dominions of Demetrios and the Greeks had to retire from India leaving Puṣyamitra enough elbow room to entrench his authority. Thus ended the most glorious period of Indian history and one of the most brilliant epochs in the annals of humanity.

Section B.

Reflection on the Fall of the Empire.

In a paper published in J. R. A. S. (1910) the late Pandit Hara Prasad Śāstri propounded the view that a "reaction promoted by the Brāhmaṇas" had sapped the foundations of Maurya authority and ultimately dismembered the empire. He pointed out that the Mauryas were Śūdras and they "boasted that those who were regarded as gods on earth have been reduced by them into false gods" quoting in proof this line of the M. R. E. I. of Asoka यि इमाय कालाय जम्बूद्वीपसि अमिसा देवा

हुसु ते दानि मिसा कटा (Brahmagiri version). Further Pandit Śāstri showed that the appointment of the Dharma mähāmātras and the establishment of legal equality infringed the privileges of the Brāhmaṇas. His view was seriously considered by Dr. Ray Choudhury in his "Political History of Ancient India" With sound judgment he refuted these arguments one by one and clearly showed that Asoka's policy was by no means anti-Brāhmanical. As he said : "the theory which ascribes the decline and dismemberment of the Maurya empire to a Brāhmanical revolution led by Puṣyamitra does not bear scrutiny." (ibid p. 301). Dr. Ray Choudhury goes further and shows that "the life of a Brāhmaṇa in Ancient India was not as sacrosanct as in medieval and modern India" (ibid p. 299). In the Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa a Purohita is said to be punished with death for treachery to his master and according to the Artha Śāstra a Brāhmaṇa guilty of treason was to be drowned. In the Mahābhārata severe punishments were inflicted on Māṇḍavya and Likhita and according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa king Harischandra did not scruple to offer a Brāhmaṇa boy as a victim in a sacrifice.

Brāhmaṇa vs. Kṣatriya.

With all this valuable evidence we are unable to agree with the learned doctor in regard to the position and privileges of Brāhmaṇas in ancient India. In early times the class of the Brāhmaṇas was not at all exclusive and rigid. The earliest instance of an Kṣatriya becoming a Brāhmaṇa is that of Nahuṣas's son yati who relinquished the kingdom to his brother Yayāti and became a Brāhmaṇa muṇi. Others prior to Viśvāmitra were Māndhātṛiyauvanāśva, Kaśya and Gṛitsamada, who became full-fledged Brāhmaṇas. Even the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, a 9th century work and avowedly a Brāhmaṇic treatise, acknowledges the origin of the Urukṣaya, Kapi, Gārgya, Priyamedha, Maudaglya families of the Brāhmaṇas from the Paurava dynasty. Trayyarūṇa, a king noted for his justice and fair-play, is recorded in the Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa to have expelled his crown-prince for abducting a princess and also his Purohita for running his chariot over a child in the street. This instance vouches for the legal equality obtaining in ancient India. But gradually the Brāhmaṇas were entrenching their special privileges behind their exclusive rights to sacrifice and spiritual professions. In the post-Mahābhārata period their pretensions became almost overwhelming and King Janamējaya

Pārikṣita therefore quarrelled with them and himself performed two Aśvamedha and one Vājasaneyā sacrifices and his brothers killed a number of Brāhmaṇas as well. After Janamejaya the Brāhmaṇa vs. Kṣatriya problem gained considerable momentum and the Kṣatriyas went so far as to discredit the whole of Vedic ritual.*

The Kṣatriya movement, flowing through the Upaniṣads and crystallizing in the Bhāgawata, system, reached its culmination in Buddhism and with one blow the Buddha swept away the concept of caste.

कामरागं विराजत्वा ब्रह्मलोकूपगो अहु ।

न तं जाति निवारेसि ब्रह्मलोकूपपत्तिया ॥

Suttanipāta : Vasalasutta

On the other hand the Brāhmaṇa movement was also in full blast In Brāhmaṇical literature—the Dharma sūtras and the Gṛhyasūtras—especial pretensions were being invented and special privileges put forth. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa declared : यदत्र वै ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रं वशमेति तद्राष्ट्रं समृद्धं तद्वीरवद्वास्मि वीरो जायते (37, 5). According to Gautama राजा सर्वस्येष्टे ब्राह्मणवर्जम् (XI, 1). Gautama further says that no corporal punishment should be given to Brāhmaṇas न शरीरो ब्राह्मणदण्डः (12, 43). The Maurya empire, though helped in its foundation by a Brāhmaṇa, was too diplomatic, too nationalistic to take sides in this long drawn-out conflict. But It goes without saying that the Mauryas did not tolerate the special privileges and pretensions of the Brāhmaṇas and especially the adoption of Buddhism under Asoka and Jainism under Samprati-Daśaratha sounded the death—knell of Brāhmaṇical privileges and gave the signal for an equalitarian regeneration of society in place of the old

* प्लवाह्ये ते अहदा यज्ञरूपाः

अष्टादशोक्तमवरं येषु कर्म

एतच्छ्रेयो येऽभिनन्दन्ति मृदाः

जरामृत्युं ते पुनरेवापि यान्ति

Maṇḍūkyaopaniṣad 1. 2-7.

यामिमां पुष्पितां वाचं प्रवदन्त्यविपरिचतः ।

वेदवादरताः पार्थ नान्यदस्तीतिवादिनः ॥

Gītā, 2nd Chapter.

caste-ridden order.* How far were the Mauryas successful in this attempt is avouched by the Brāhmaṇas themselves. Thus the Yuga Purāṇa of the Gārgī-Saṁhitā says in utter indignation:

“In the end of the yuga there will be non-Aryans following the religious practice of the Āryas. The Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras will all be low-men. They undoubtedly *will dress themselves alike and will have conduct all alike.* ... Without doubt in the end of the age there will be Śūdras who will address as ‘Bho’ and Brahmanas who will address others as ‘Ārya’”.

(Jayaswal's tr. J. B. O. R. S. 1930)

The caste-structure was so shaken that towards the dawn of the Christian era, Aśvaghoṣa, in one of his satirical treatises—Vajrasūchi, wrote :

“गोत्रब्राह्मणमारभ्य ब्राह्मणीनां शूद्रपर्यन्तं अभिगमनदर्शनात् ।

अतो जातिब्राह्मणो न भवति ।

इह हि कैवर्त-रजक-चाण्डाल कुलेष्वपि ब्राह्मणाः सन्ति ।

एकवर्णो नास्ति चातुर्वर्ण्यम् ।

Then, in the Harivaṁsa Purāṇa the advent of Puṣyamitra is hailed as the starting-point of the renaissance of Vedic sacrifices, which were in abeyance during the Maurya regime.

औद्भिज्जो भविता कश्चित् सेनानीः काश्यपो द्विजः ।

अश्वमेधं कलियुगे पुनः प्रत्याहरिष्यति ॥

(III, 2, 40)

To this very conclusion Kālidāsa's 'Mālvikāgnimitram' leads us. The four-fold order was so shattered even in the life time of Aśoka that Jalauka had to rehabilitate it in Kashmere. (cf चातुर्वर्ण्यं निजे दशे धर्म्यैश्च व्यवहारिणः)

Raj I, 117

Therefore there appears no reason to doubt the fact that there was a great movement of the Brāhmaṇas led by Puṣyamitra and that, as

* Attention may be drawn in this connection to the fact that under the Mauryas, the Greeks found as much scope for development and progress as the Indians themselves—Aśoka's viceroy in Surāṣṭra was Tuṣāspa and the Yona Dhamimara kṛita was sent to Aparānta at the head of a Buddhist mission.

seen above, it had penetrated into the armies. Otherwise it is impossible to believe that the forces connived at the murder of their master in their very presence. As Professor Sylvain Lévi beautifully remarked :—

“ Les Brahmanes épiaient avec inquiétude les progrès d'une civilisation rivale qui les surpassait. Jamais leur morgue aristocratique n'avait pensé à utiliser de pareils moyens de séduction pour agir sur la multitude. La fin d'Asoka, et la fin de sa dynastie qui suivit de près, marquent une réaction Brahmanique qui paraît avoir pris un caractère violent.”—

(L'Inde et le monde, p. 115)

Repercussions of the Brāhmanical renaissance.

This point leads us to another very important aspect of the problem—viz the advent of the Greeks. In the North-West of India the policy of Jalauka had definitely alienated the Buddhist world. As Kalhaṇa says a Buddhist nun once scolded the king Jalauka thus:

“You should hear the reason why I have been raised by the Buddhists whom you have antagonized by your wrath.” (R. S. Pandit's tr.)

The coup of Puṣyamitra must have terrified the Buddhist beyond expectation and cast away from the shadow of Imperial patronage they must have searched for some such shade in some other direction. The Greeks with their usual perspicacity and propagandism afforded them this shade and patronage and it is not insignificant that Demetrios called himself “Dharmamitra” and Menander listened with eagerness to the discourses of the Buddhist patriarch Nāgasena. To quote W. W. Tarn ; “ To parts of India perhaps to large parts they (the Greeks) came not as conquerors, but as friends and saviors ; to the Buddhist world in particular they appeared to be its champions ; some provinces must have welcomed them precisely as Egypt and Babylon and in India Taxila had welcomed Alexander ” (The Greeks in Bactria and India, p. 180)

So we have observed that the conflict of Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas for social status and privilege which later on developed in the tussle between Brāhmaṇas and Buddhists and which in the end of the Maurya

period assumed fanatical shape was one great cause of the disruption of the Maurya empire. But this was not all as MM. Haraprasad Śāstri would have us believe. There were other equally important factors which contributed to the fall of the empire each in its own way.

The Policy of 'Dhammaghoṣa'

One of these causes is the policy bequeathed by Aśoka to his successors and quoted by us in the very beginning of this dissertation. We have also observed that his successors were so faithful to his advice as to follow it syllable by syllable. In his philanthropic zeal and missionary efforts Samprati-Daśratha was in no way inferior to Aśoka. Likewise Śāliśūka was a great theoritician and was so much pre-possessed with his philosophical speculation and religions practices as to allow the administration to rust away. The result was that provincial authorities became assertive and even independent, and the people who had seen good government, groaned under their tyranny. To the chronicler of the Yuga-Purāṇa, the reigning sovereign appeared responsible for all this. (cf. स्वराष्ट्रं मर्दते चोरं)

Succession of Weaklings.

As Dr. Smith has shown Aśoka had a might though he did not use it, to keep his empire intact. In the separate Rock Edict II he says that although he has sufficient power to crush and conquer the turbulent autonomous states of the Andhras, Pulindas, Ristikas and Pitanikas, yet he desires "that they should be unperturbed towards him and should receive from him happiness and not sorrow." The emperor also exhibited his might by healing up the breach in the Buddhist Church. Like the First Consul enforcing the Concordat, Aśoka forcibly expelled the dissentient monks from the Buddhist Church and restored its solidarity. Then the emperor's great military prowess displayed in the fields of Kalinga must have struck terror in the heart of his provincials. But "the martial ardour of Imperial Magadha had vanished with the last cries of agony uttered in the battlefield of Kalinga (Ray Choudhury, Political History etc., p. 304). After Aśoka his successors harped on the string of Dhamma with the result that the military superiority completely disappeared. As for personal respect and awe, which Aśoka's great personality everywhere commanded, his successors were unworthy of them. In the

words of Dr. Smith 'Asoka's sceptre was the bow of Ulysses which could not be drawn by any weaker hand' (Asoka, p. 76) and in fact it could not be drawn.

Metaphysical turn of mind-

One result of this policy of Dhammavijaya was that "the progress of political science was suddenly arrested and that religion and philosophy began more and more to absorb the Hindu mind." (Bhandarkar: *Asoka*, p. 361). The great national polity and social order which Dīgha Chārāyana, Vassakāra and Viṣṇugupta Kauṭilya were evolving both in theory and practice suddenly went aground and "the old genius for political originality and evolution thus remained dormant and died a natural death" (Bhandarkar: *ibid*). An inertia thus crept into the Hindu mind and made it blind to all the realities of the world. Here began that long process of the degeneration and stagnancy of the creative spirit of the race and that mystic and metaphysical turn of National mind, which generated a deep sense of listlessness and lethargy and ultimately led to the fall of India in the 11th and 12th centuries.

Such paralysing mentality was the aftermath of Asoka's change of policy and led, in no small measure, to the ruin of the empire. To take only one instance of this process, we may recall the change affected in Buddhism *viz.* the growth of Mahāyāna tendencies. Prior to the advent of Asoka, the principles of Pāramitās (transcendent virtue) *i. e.* Dāna, Śīla, Kṣānti, Vīrya, Dhyāna and Prajñā and the ideal of Buddhahood had been laid down in the Avadānas and Jātakas to interest the laity in the new religion. In the 2nd Buddhist Saṃgīti held under Kāśāśoka Kākaṣarnin of Rājgriha, the breach between the Mahāsaṅghikas and Mahāsthaviravādins had definitely taken place and according to Vasumitra the schism was due to the fact that the Vajjian monks did not agree with the sthavirs in recognizing Arhathood as the highest spiritual state and treated it only as an intermediate state leading to the highest which in their opinion was Buddhahood.

Religious differences, we know, reached a great pitch at the time of Asoka and he had to deal with the discordant elements with a high hand. Asoka, with the great insight and ability that he possessed, attempted to reconcile these differences by appealing to social morality, enshrined in the teachings of the Buddha. The immense

popularization of Buddhism, thus accomplished, ultimately led to its deviation from the position envisaged by the Buddha and strengthened by Aśoka. In their zeal, for outstripping the Brāhmaṇas, who were busy popularizing themselves by absorbing the Kṣatriya religion of the Bhāgwatas and the schools of philosophical speculation, the Buddhists were driven to adopt more and more mystic and emotional principles. The Kathāvathu, composed in the life time of Aśoka by Moggalliputta Tissa, gives an account of the tenets of the sect of the Vaitulyakas, according to whom the Buddha never lived in the world and it was his image that delivered the teachings. Similarly the Saṅgha was also transcendentalized. The Vaitulyakas went even beyond that. They held that a man and a woman may have sexual relation with one object in view—*viz* Buddhapūjā and herein they anticipated the later Mahāyānists.

The more advanced of these Buddhists occupied themselves with the speculation of the central concepts of Dharmasūnyata, tathatā and substituted the Jñeyāvaraṇa in place of the pristine Kleśāvaraṇa as the basic cause of misery in the world. The common gullible masses, on the other hand, worshipped the Buddha and enjoyed their sensual and emotional feelings, giving them a spiritual colouring. These developments began after Aśoka and reached their culmination under Kaniska. The old rationalism, based on vigilance and knowledge and centring round the ideal of collective good as determined by practical conduct, which constituted the beauty and the vigour of Buddhism was thrown to the winds. And hence the energizing cult of freedom and equality of early Buddhism, which was the motive force behind the Maurya empire was now replaced by a prurient and enervating system of metaphysics, which weakened the fabric of the empire.

Bureaucratic oppression and administrative looseness

Now we proceed to discuss some other causes of the decline of the Mauryas. The Maurya empire was a huge bureaucratic machine, the working of which depended entirely on the central hub i. e. the emperor and the chancellor. Any degree of looseness or laxity in the working of the various cog-wheels was detrimental to the whole mechanism. Aśoka, we know, gave extensive powers to his rājukas

or Commissioners: (ef लजूका मे बहूसु पानसहसेसु जनाते आयता तेसं ये अभिहाले वा दण्डे वा अतपतिथे मे कटे येन एता चभीता अस्वथ सन्तं अविमना कम्मनि पवतवेयु ति । (P. E. IV Delhi-Topra Version). He also created the Dharmamahāmātras and endowed them with extensive powers. In this way the process of disintegration was set afoot which entailed at last the collapse of the empire.

Endowed with such extensive powers, the officials not unoften ignored the interests and rights of the citizens who having advanced civic consciousness, not seldom rose into revolt and expelled the officials. Two such instances are recorded in the Divyāvadāna :

राज्ञोऽशोकस्योत्तरापथे तक्षशिलानगरं विरुद्धं । राजा कुणालमाहूय कथयति वत्स कुणाल गमिष्यसि तक्षशिलानगरं सन्नामयितुं । कुणाल उवाच परं देव गमिष्यामि श्रुत्वा च तक्षशिलापौराः अर्थत्रिकानि योजनानि मार्गशोभां नगरशोभां च कृत्वा पूरणकुम्भैः प्रत्युद्गताः । प्रत्युद्गम्य कृताब्जलिहवा च । न वयं कुमारस्य विरुद्धा न राज्ञोऽशोकस्यापि तु अपितु दुष्टमात्या आगत्यास्माकमपमानं कुर्वन्ति ।

[Divyāvadāna (Cowell) p. 407-8]

A similar revolt of the citizens of तक्षशिला took place against the officials of Bindusāra and Aśoka was sent to quell it. If the legendary character of the Divyāvadāna prevents us from believing in the truth of these revolts, let us hear the voice of Aśoka himself :

हेमेव पजाये इह्याम कि मे सवेन हितमुखेन शृजेतु ति हिदलोगिक पाललोकिकेन । हेमेव मे इह सब मुनिसेसु । नो च तुफे एतं पापुनाथ आवागमके इयं अठे । केचा एक पुलिसे (पि) पापुनाति मनाति । से पि देसं न सबं

(S. R. E. I Dhauli—Jaugada Version.)

The last line of the edict show how the officials disregarded the injunctions of Aśoka himself and how this official maladministration was undermining the loyalty of the people.

The burden of taxation.

The people, thus smarting under bureaucratic tyranny, were also burdened with heavy taxes. All the key-industries were nationalized and the land was the property of the Crown. It was let out to the cultivators only for life, with no right to alienation or mortgage, in lieu of $\frac{1}{4}$ of the produce either in cash or kind. Then the sturdy rule followed. अकृषतामाच्छिद्यान्येभ्यः प्रयच्छेत (Arthasāstra, p. 47). If the

cultivator failed to till the soil it was to be given over to another. Even a fine was imposed on them.* Besides other taxes, such as water tax, the cultivators were required to work in state undertakings and failure to do so was visited with penalty (cf. Arthasāstra, p. 47)

Similar high duties were imposed on trade. A passage from the Arthasāstra enumerates them in this way :

परविषये तु पश्यप्रतिपश्ययीरर्धमूल्यं च आगम्यशुल्कवर्तन्यातिवाहिकगुल्मतरदेयभक्त-
भागव्ययशुद्धदमुदयं पश्येत् (Artha q. 99)

- | | | |
|-------------|-----|-------------------------------------------------|
| 1. शुल्क | .. | main duty $\frac{1}{10}$ th of the profit. |
| 2. वर्तनी | .. | road-cess. |
| 3. आतिवाहिक | .. | Conveyance cess. |
| 4. गुल्म | .. | tax payable at military stations. |
| 5. तरदेय | .. | ferry charges. |
| 6. भक्त | ... | subsistence to the merchants and his followers. |
| 7. भाग | .. | subsistence payable to the king. |

Then, there were emergency-taxes (Pranaya) which the king used to realise from the people in times of need. A prosperous country was to pay $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the produce, whereas on ordinary land $\frac{1}{4}$ th was taken.

(जनपदं महान्तमल्पप्रमाणं वा देवमातृकं प्रभूतधान्यं धान्यांशं तृतीयं याचेत् । चतुर्थमंशं धान्यानां षष्ठं वान्यानां etc. Arthasāstra, p. 242) Those who disposed of their produce without paying the Pranaya were to be punished with the first amercement. Not only Pranaya was imposed on cultivators, but also on traders and herdsmen.

In the event of failure to realize this Pranaya the superintendent of taxes (Samāhartṛi) had to take loans of the town and country people (पौरजानपद) तस्याकरणे वा समाहर्ता पौरजानपदान् कार्यमुपदिश्य भिक्षेत Artha sāstra, p. 243) Ingenious means were invented to squeeze out money from the

* अकृषन्तोऽपहीनं दयुः (A. S. P. 47). I differ from Dr. Shāmsāstri who translates this passage thus : "those who do not till pay less than the fixed revenue." I think अपहीन is here the technical name of a fine.

people by playing on their religious beliefs and superstitions. Kauṭilya on p. 244 of his Arthaśāstra gives a list of such special contrivances and Patañjali in his oft-quoted passage writes against the Mauryas for their avarice. (मौर्यैर्हि रायार्थिभिरचाः प्रकल्पिताः etc.) These facts not only show the financial needs of the Mauryas but also refer to their materialistic and irreligious tendencies which called forth the Brahmanical reaction under Puṣyamitra.

While adopting these measures, of course out of necessity, the Mauryas were well familiar with the hard fact that they were incurring the displeasure of the people. Kauṭilya himself wrote :—

कोशदण्डदानमवस्थाप्य तदुपकुर्वाणः पौरजानपदान् कोपयेत् । कुपितैस्तेनैव घातयेत्
प्रकृतिभिरुपकुष्टमपनयेत् (Arath. p. 176)

That the Praṇaya and other taxes were actually disliked by the people is vouched for by the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman. This inscription relates that being keen on propitiating the people, on whom his position entirely depended, Rudradāman had to remit the Kara, Viṣṭi (forced labour) and Praṇaya, while reconstructing the Sudarṣaṇa embankment—

अपीडयित्वा करविष्टिप्रणयक्रियाभिः पौरजानपदं जनं स्वस्मात्कोशात् महता धनौघेनाति-
महता च कालेन सेतुं कारितम् (Diskalkar, Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions I, p. 2.)

The authority of the Mauryas was in no small measure undermined by the burdensome taxes, which alienated the people.

Precocious internationalism

We now proceed to discuss another reason, which in our opinion, led to the downfall of the Mauryas. We have shown in our paper "the rise of Maurya Imperialism"* that the Maurya empire was a growth of a couple of centuries. The history of its formation from Bimbisāra to Aśoka was, in fact, a history of the crystallization of the ideology of localism into that of Nationalism. It was in the days of Chandragupta that the full force of latent nationalism manifested

* published in "Poona Orientalist" Dec. 1945.

itself. But after half a century the blossoms of nationalism prematurely flowered into internationalism and spent their whole efflorescence. Asoka's religious empire extended from Greece and Egypt up to Suvarṇabhūmi and Malayadvīpa and from the valleys of Oxus to the deeps of the Southern Ocean. This huge block of land embracing the three continents of Europe, Asia and Africa, over which Asoka's missionary activities were spread, absorbed the forces, which were strengthening the foundations of the National state in India. The consequence was that the sense of nationality could not be firmly instilled into the brain of the masses and the strain of cosmopolitanism was so severe as to provoke the reaction of localism soon afterwards. Thus by about 230 B. C. India retreated to the same position whence it started when Bimbisāra marched against Aṅga. My point here is that it would have taken quite a long time to foster the spirit of national unity among the people and after it would have been safely entrenched it would have naturally flowered into internationalism. To quote Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar once more "if the vision of the Chakravartī Dhārmika Dharmarāja had not haunted his (Asoka's) mind and thus completely metamorphosed him, the irresistible martial spirit and the marvellous statecraft of Magadha would have found a further vent by invading and subjugating the Tamil states and Tāmaparṇī towards the southern extremity of India and would probably not have remained satisfied except by going beyond the confines of Bhāratavārṣa and establishing an empire like that of Rome." (Asoka, P. 256). This sort of internationalism backed by the cosmopolitan spirit which India has ever displayed would have surely established an international regime without those defects, which caused its fall in Rome. But the attempt, as we have said, was premature and lacking the force of arms it remained merely the shibboleth of minds. Here is an instance of a martyr for humanity sacrificing himself on the alter of his own ideals.

Thus fell the empire of the Mauryas with a violent crash which inflicted an incurable hurt on the body politic of India. Still the fact cannot be doubted or gainsaid, that the Maurya empire was a great experiment, which is even to-day full of many lessons for the future of India.

LABOUR IN EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY, BIHAR.

By HARI RANJAN GHOSAL, M. A., B. L.,

G. B. B. COLLEGE, MUZAFFARPUR.

The problem of labour with its continually increasing demands for higher wages, less work, better housing, and fairer treatment, its frequent recourses to strikes and sabotage, and its acute shortage from time to time, is becoming to-day more and more complex throughout the world. The spirit of trade unionism is rampant everywhere, and India is not free from it. Both the higher and the lower middle classes in our country complain bitterly of the difficulties arising from the present changed position of labour, and yearn for the good old days when life was simpler and demands were more reasonable. Yet in India labour was quite a knotty problem to tackle as early as the beginning of the last century. In the present essay an attempt has been made to examine the general position of labour in the province of Bihar during the early years of the nineteenth century and to demonstrate the truth of the above remark in the light of available material.

To refer to the condition of agricultural labour in the province in those days, it may be noted that the ryots, as in other parts of India, very often cultivated their lands and reaped the harvest by their own hands.¹ But in many cases hired labourers and slaves were employed for these purposes.² Broadly speaking, the free agricultural labourers employed in fields were of two classes—the regular ploughmen and the ordinary day-labourers. The ploughman generally cultivated his master's land for a share of the crop, as now. In Purnea he used to get one-half of the crop, provided he met the expenses of cultivation himself.³ The regular wages of the ploughmen in Bihar were higher than those of the day-labourers, and sometimes they received

¹ Firminger, *Fifth Report*, ii, p. 597, Buchanan, *Patna Gaya Report*, ii p. 504

² *Ibid.*

³ Buchanan, *Purnea Report*, p. 443

an additional allowance over and above their usual wages.¹ Those who did not work for share of the crop but preferred daily payments, either received three seers of grain a day during ploughing season or an equivalent in cash.² The day-labourers, who were generally employed to weed, transplant, and water the plants, and especially for reaping, received an allowance of $5\frac{1}{4}$ of the produce for reaping only.³ The usual allowance of the ploughman both for reaping and thrashing was $11\frac{1}{4}$ of the produce.⁴ Besides the regular ploughmen and the day-labourers, there were those whose services were hired "for the month or season," Their wages did not generally exceed one rupee per month. Women, too, were employed as day-labourers and by weeding, transplanting and thrashing they earned almost as much as men, and sometimes even higher.⁵

The free non-agricultural labourers were mainly of three classes : those who tended cattle, those who served as coolies or porters, and the domestic servants. In Purnea a boy of fourteen or fifteen, who tended two dozen oxen, had eight annas a month plus half a seer of grain every day.⁶ The coolies "frequently earned a rupee or two", after which they did not work for several days.⁷ The domestic servants received two to three rupees a month provided they themselves managed their food and clothing.⁸ Where the master provided food for the servant but not clothing, the monthly wages varied from half a rupee to one rupee and a half.⁹

It should not be overlooked, however, that the price of labour did not remain constant throughout the period. As a matter of fact,

¹ Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya Report*, ii. p. 506

² *Ibid*, pp. 556-57; *Purnea Report*, p. 446

³ Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya Report*, ii, p. 506.

⁴ *Ibid*.

⁵ The average yearly income of such women in Bihar was about eight rupees each according to Buchanan-*Patna-Gaya Report*, ii, p. 557 See also *Purnea Report* p. 444.

⁶ *Ibid*. p. 445.

⁷ *Fifth Report*, ii, p. 597-In Purnea the porters, who were employed in carrying loads from boats to warehouses, or from warehouses to boats, earned about four rupees a month per head. (Buchanan, *Purnea Report*, p. 596).

⁸ Buchanan, *Purnea Report*, p. 159.

⁹ *Ibid*.

between 1800 and 1833 the wages of journeymen weavers and agricultural labourers rose considerably.¹ But the wages of coolies did not at first show any appreciable rise.² This is rather striking since non-agricultural labour was by no means plentiful. Perhaps the very fact that the wages of coolies did not increase considerably was one of the reasons why there was a general scarcity of non-agricultural labour not only in Bihar, but also in the neighbouring province of Bengal. Moreover, the great increase in the price of agricultural labour between 1813 and 1833 may appear rather surprising in view of the fact that these years saw the rapid decline of the cotton industry and the consequent unemployment of numerous industrial workers, many of whom joined the ranks of agricultural labourers. This apparent contradiction may be partly explained by the fact that alongside the increase in the supply of agricultural labour, the demand for it increased too, owing to the enormous expansion of raw silk, opium and indigo cultivations in these provinces. But a more important explanation may be offered, namely that the purchasing power of money declined very much after 1813.³

The comparative dearth of free non-agricultural labour in Bihar during the period under review has been referred to in the works of Buchanan Hamilton, as also in some of the Company's records of the time. We are told that officers of Government and other persons of respectable standing were often put to great distress in carrying their baggages from one place to another. The Magistrate of Patna was frequently written to for providing the army officers with men to serve as porters, and he had to use his influence to get such men.⁴ Frequent complaints were made to the Magistrate by the Company's officers regarding the general want and the unreliable conduct of bearers. Much difficulty was also experienced in finding

¹ W. Hamilton, *A Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindostan*. i, p. 35.

² *Ibid.*

³ H. H. Wilson, *A Review of the External Commerce of Bengal*, pp. 19-20

⁴ Letter from E. Clark to H. Douglas, Feb. 11, 1809, Letter from Major General Commanding, Dinapur, to W. H. Tippettt, Aug. 12, 1820, Letter from Commandant, Dinapur, to C. W. Smith, Oct 11, 1825 (Patna Judge's Court Records)

escorts for conveying the Company's goods and treasure to other parts of the Bengal Presidency, and a similar difficulty was felt in procuring boatmen for carrying the Company's supplies as well as the goods of private merchants, up and down the Ganges.¹ It not infrequently happened that the boatmen hired for the purpose deserted after having carried the goods to a certain distance. In a letter to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, dated the 22nd September, 1803, one of the secretaries to the Bengal Government wrote that the public service having been "considerably impeded from the delay and difficulty in obtaining Manjes² and Dandies³ to conduct boats laden with public stores for the upper Provinces and from attempts made by persons of that description to desert after they had engaged", he should furnish the officers in charge of boats "with every assistance in obtaining Manjes and Dandies and in providing for the faithful discharge of the duty which those persons may undertake to perform"⁴ We are informed by Buchanan that labourers employed in indigo works and other like concerns had very often to be paid in advance, without which it was sometime impossible to have their service.⁵

The main reason why in spite of the decline of the cotton industry the shortage of non-agricultural labour continued was probably this that the industrial workers, who became unemployed as a result of it mostly fell on land, preferring to be employed in fields whether belonging to themselves or to others. Men, who had previously pursued an independent calling as manufacturers or a semi-independent business as journeymen weavers or as cotton-beaters, must have felt it beneath their dignity to sink to the position of ordinary porters. Moreover, being used to sedentary work for years, they probably found the business of load-carrying trying and irksome. Then also, they

¹ Letter from Collector of Shahabad to H. Douglas, Sept. 11, 1803; letter from Secretary, Public Department; to H. Douglas, Sept. 22, 1803; Letter from a private merchant to W. H., Tippet, May, 28, 1819; Letter from Thomas Marvant to W. H. Tippet, Jan, 1820; Letter from Major General Commanding to W H Tippet, Aug. 12, 1820, (Patna Judge's Court Records).

² *Manjhis*—Boatmen.

³ Oarsmen.

⁴ Patna Judge's Court Records.

⁵ Buchanan, *Purnea Report*. p. 446.

were reluctant to work as porters lest they might be required to carry burdens to long distances, thereby exposing themselves to dangers on the way after nightfall.

The scarcity of labour very often led the government to employ convicts for the repair and construction of roads. In a letter to the Secretary, Public Department, dated the 12th December, 1809, Mr. Cunningham, Magistrate of Tirhut, wrote that one hundred and ten convicts were then "employed on the repairs of the great road from Muzaffarpur to Hajee pore" and that such of the others as were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment either by the Court of Circuit or by the Magistrate were "daily employed in making new and repairing old roads in the vicinity of this place (Muzaffarpur) and other public works."¹ But convicts could not be employed to any considerable distance from the station of the Magistrate without great inconvenience and "an expense which their labour can by no means compensate."² Whenever they were removed far from the station, a very large guard became necessary to prevent their escape, and temporary buildings had to be erected for their accommodation.³ In 1815, for instance, the Magistrate of Behar (Patna-Gaya) requested the Secretary to the Judicial Department for requisitioning the service of a military detachment at Gaya "equal to guarding abroad both night and day several parties of convicts posted at different places on the new road" that was being constructed.⁴ In the Judge's Court Records of Patna there are several references to the employment of convicts for the repair and construction of roads.

What is more striking, dearth of labourers necessarily led to the employing of forced labour in Bengal and Bihar. Sometimes ryots were dragged from their fields and forced to make and repair the roads in their localities.⁵ More often the weavers of roadside villages were called upon to perform the duties of porters, a practice which did

¹ Patna Judge's Court Records.

² Extract from Judicial Dept. Proceedings, Jan, 5, 1798 (Patna Judge's Court Records.)

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Extract from a letter, dated Nov. 10, 1815 (Patna Judge's Court Records.)

⁵ *Minutes of Evidence taken before Select Committee of Lords* p. 80.

not escape Buchanan's notice.¹ Both the Company's troops and the civil officers of Government were in the habit of engaging forced labour for carrying their equipment. As the practice hampered agriculture and commerce the Government of Bengal issued a notification on the 29th March, 1820, strictly prohibiting it, and all public functionaries civil and military, were required to assist in "carrying this prohibition to complete effect"² It was further added that "the offer or actual delivery of any sum of money by way of compensations to persons who might be pressed to carry burdens, would not be held to justify or excuse the violation of these orders."³ As the employment of forced labour continued in spite of this prohibition, the Governor General in Council in the Military Department issued a circular on the 2nd December, 1824, fixing the scale of carriage equipment considered "amply sufficient for each class and description of Troops and forbidding the carrying of additional luggage by any number of the army."⁴

The scarcity of free labour was partly due also to the prevalence of slavery in the province. While the sale of slaves for transportation to other countries had been prohibited by a proclamation of the 'Governor-General in Council' in 1794,⁵ and their importation from 'outside' was forbidden in 1811,⁶ the employment of slaves for domestic or agricultural purposes and their sale and transfer under *bonafide* conditions within the Presidency of Bengal were not declared illegal. The institution of slavery, therefore, continued all through the period.

¹ This abusive practice caused great distress to the weaving population; and to avoid being seized to serve as porters, the weavers of road side villages sometimes migrated bag and baggage to some out-of-the-way places. Important villages practically became depopulated on account of such forced emigrations. For instance, the village of Baikunthpur (Bykatpur) in the Patna District, once a flourishing centre of cotton manufacture, became practically depopulated in this way. Buchanan, *Patna Gaya Report*, ii, p. 654 and 707; *Shahabad Report*, p. 443. *Patna Gaya Journal*, p. 4.

² Patna Judge's Court Records.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Slavery in India*, p. 47.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

And this is not to be wondered at in view of the extreme poverty of a section of the population. Indeed many persons voluntarily sold themselves through necessity, especially in times of famine.¹ However, the severities generally incident to slavery in the western countries were by no means common in India.² It is true that slaves in this country were considered chattels and as such liable to be transferred along with the estates of their masters.³ Yet on the whole they were better treated and better fed than the hired servants and accorded much the same treatment as the children of the families to which they belonged.⁴ In fact the proprietors of slaves found it to their interest "to act humanely towards them to secure their services and promote their increase."⁵

There were mainly three classes of slaves in Bihar, *viz.*, domestic slaves, agricultural slaves and those that were partly employed in agriculture and partly in domestic service. Those who belonged to the class of domestics lived entirely in their master's houses, and were almost always allowed to marry.⁶ Their women and children also generally worked as slaves in the same houses. Common domestic slaves in Purnea were called *golams* or *nafars*, and they sold at from fifteen to twenty rupees each.⁷ But in some parts of the district they were known as *dingars*.⁸ In Shahabad they were called *Kamkars* or *Molnazada's*, according as they were Hindu or Muhammadan.⁹ Those that were partly engaged in agriculture and partly in household work were known as *khawas*.¹⁰ They chiefly belonged to Hindu nobles and their women and children too, were fed by their

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 243-44 and 381, B. N. Banerji, *Sambad-Patre Sekaler Katha*, iii, p. 76.

² *Slavery in India*, pp. 243-44; Buchanan, *Purnea Report*, p. 162.

³ *Slavery in India*, p. 287; Letter from Chief Judge, Patna Court of Circuit to W. H. Tippet, Nov. 26, 1821; Letter from same to same, No. 29. 1821 (Patna Judge's Court Records).

⁴ Buchanan, *Purnea Report*, pp. 163-64.

⁵ *Slavery in India*, pp. 243-44.

⁶ Buchanan, *Purnea Report*, p. 162.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Shahabad Report*, p. 166.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

master.¹ A boy of sixteen belonging to this class sold at from twelve to twenty rupees, while a girl of eight or ten cost from five to fifteen rupees.² Usually a man and his wife, provided they belonged to the same master were not sold separately, nor was it the custom to segregate the children from their parents until they were marriageable.³ Sometimes slaves were married to free persons.⁴ But in Shahabad no such inter-marriages were allowed.⁵ A family of slaves belonging to some rich landlord was sometimes allotted a rent-free land for its "comfortable subsistence.,⁶

By an Act of Parliament passed in the year 1833 slavery was abolished in the British Empire. But in India it continued even after this date. We learn from the *Jnananvesan*⁷ of the 11th January, 1840, that a Calcutta zemindar bought a slave at the Bhagalpur Bazar at forty rupees and that many other persons were then sold as slaves in that market.⁸ In 1843 slavery was finally declared illegal in India. But in certain districts of Bihar it continued to exist in some form or other down to 1850, and even afterwards.⁹

1 *Ibid.*

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*

6 Buchanan, *Purnea Report*, p. 164.

7 A Bengali newspaper of the early nineteenth century.

8 B. N. Banerji, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 253. See also in this connection the *Calcutta Courier*, Jan. 2, 1841.

9 *Vide Ind Journal of Economics*, XV, p. 69.

BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Annual Report for 1945-46.

I.—Membership.

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Society's Journal on the 31st December, 1945 was 117. The Society lost two of its ordinary members by resignation and one by death. Twelve new members were enrolled in the course of the year. With the 11 Honorary members and 15 Life members, the total membership of the Society stands at 143.

At last year's Annual General Meeting the following were elected office-bearers of the Society and members of the Council:—

President—His Excellency Sir Thomas George Rutherford, K. C.S. I.,
C. I. E, I. C. S.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali,
Kt.

Secretary—Mr. Sham Bahadur, M. B. E.

Treasurer—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha.

Librarian—Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury, M. A., Ph. D.

Editorial Board—The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali,
Kt.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.)

Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M. A., Ph. D., P. R. S.
(Editor-in-charge),

Khan Sahib Saiyid Hasan Askari, M. A., B. L.

Dr. Dharmendra Brahamachari Sastri,
M. A., Ph. D.

*Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary
Treasurer, and Librarian, who are ex-officio members).*

The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl
Ali, Kt.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. P. Varma.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. B. J. Sullivan, S. J.

Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Ismail.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.)

A. J. Salisbury, Esq., I. C. S.

Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M. A., Ph D., P. R. S.

Khan Sahib Saiyid Hasan Askari, M. A., B. L.

II.—Meetings.

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 17th March, 1945, in the Physics Lecture Theatre of the Science College, Patna, His Excellency Sir Thomas George Rutherford, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S., President of the Society, presiding. After the transaction of formal business, the Vice-President reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. The meeting was followed by an interesting lecture on "The Arts of Nepal" delivered by Mr. Percy Brown, A. R. C. A., Curator, Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.

Meetings of the Council were held on the 5th August and 16th September, 1945 and 3rd February, 1946.

III.—Journal.

During the period under review, Parts 1-2, 3 and 4 of Volume XXXI of the Society's Journal containing 286 pages and 3 plates have been published. Appendix, Paryāyamuktāvalī, a Sanskrit Lexicon hitherto unpublished, of 53 pages also has been appended to the Journal. The size of the Journal has been much reduced on account of Government's Paper Economy Control Order, 1944, but to compensate the reduction in the number of pages printing space has been enlarged from 7" × 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ " to 8" × 5".

IV.—Library.

During the year 109 books (136 volumes) and 123 different issues of Journals were added to the Library. Of the books 29 were presented, 78 were purchased and 2 were obtained by exchange and of the Journals 8 were presented, one was purchased and 114 were obtained by exchange. On the 31st December, 1945, the Library contained 9,563 volumes as compared with 9,427 volumes of

the previous year. One Manuscript of *Sahityaadarpana* in Bengali script was purchased during the year.

7th March, 1946.

S. C. Sarkar,
Honorary General Secretary

Proceedings of Annual General Meeting of the Bihar Research Society held in the Physics Lecture Theatre, Science College, Patna on Saturday the 23rd March, 1946, at 6-30 p. m.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Physics Lectures Theatre, Science College, Patna, on Saturday the 23rd March, 1946 at 6-30 p. m.

The following formal business was transacted :—

1. The President declared the meeting open.

2. On a motion by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha, the following members were elected office-bearers and members of the Council of the Society for the year 1946-47.

President—His excellency Sir Thomas George Rutherford, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

Secretary—Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon).

Treasurer—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha.

Librarian—Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury, M. A., Ph. D.

Editorial Board—The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

- Dr. S.C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.)

Dr. Kali Kinkar Datta, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D.
(Editor-in-charge).

Khan Sahib Saiyid Hasan Askari, M. A., B. L.

Dr. Dharmendra Brahmachari Sastri, M. A., Ph. D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members).

The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.

Mr. S. P. Varma.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. B. J. Sullivan, S. J.

7. Resolved that we should await receipt of a copy of the Kannada Research Institute's Journal, when it comes out, and then decide about exchange ; the institute to be informed, and a copy of their Journal asked for.

8. Regarding next Annual General Meeting, it was decided to hold it on the 23rd March, Saturday, that being the only possible date in view of elections, University meetings and booked absence of the Vice-President from the 29th March, for his work in Orissa.

It was further decided to ask Dr. S. N. Sen, Director of Archives of the Government of India, Imperial Record Department, New Delhi, to deliver the usual lecture preferably illustrated with slides and on an aspect of Maratha History,—and if possible in that connection also to say something about, and demonstrate methods of, archive work.

It was further decided that Dr. S. C. Sarkar be appointed Honorary General Secretary in place of the late Mr. Sham Bahadur and in the vacancy of this latter gentleman Mr. S. A. Shere, Curator of the Museum, be taken in as a member of the Council, after having been elected as an ordinary member.

9. The suggestion of Dr. K. K. Datta regarding arrangement of lectures for members and Post-Graduate Students under the auspices of the Society was accepted, and it was decided to arrange one sometime in April next, place of the meeting being the Research Society and the audience limited to be about 50.

10. Read letter No. 333-E dated 24-1-46 from Deputy Secretary, Education Department. Dr. Sarkar is to write to Calcutta University and elsewhere to find a suitable Tibetan Scholar for the Society, and to finally report on the kind of work expected to be done by Bhikshu Nagarjuna. Reply to Government will be sent thereafter.

11. Read letter of Director of Archives.

Decided that when Dr. Sen comes to Patna for the Annual General Meeting, he be asked to inspect the Research Society Library and further advise on the spot.

12. Recorded the appreciation of our Journal by P. E. N. Society's Journal.

8-2-46.

S. C. Sarkar,

Honorary General Secretary.

Index of Words

The figures indicate Sections and Lines.

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| अंशुक 9.27 fn.; 22.8 | अगुरु 1.1,8 |
| अंशुमती 10.23 | अगुरुसार 23.208 |
| अंशुमत्फला 7.6 | अग्नि 23.39,261 |
| अकृत्रिमसरित् 21.15 | अग्निगर्भक 5.13 |
| अकृष्ट 23.22 | अग्निजिह्वा 6.51 |
| अक्ष 3.23,26;23.172,276 | अग्निज्वाला 11.18 |
| अक्षत 20.22 | अग्निपिशुन 22.64 |
| अक्षपीड 17.18 | अग्निमन्थ 14.7 |
| अक्षि 23.63,86 | अग्निमुखा 6.51 |
| अक्षिच्छादन 23.222 | अग्निशिख 13.10 |
| अक्षिरोग 23.213 | अग्र 20.21 fn. |
| अक्षीक 15.34 | अग्रपर्णी 15.37 |
| अक्षीव 9.23 | अग्रपुष्प 8.23 |
| अक्षुक 15.3,34 | अक्षर 23.142,152,155 |
| अक्षूक 15.34 fn. | अक्षोट 7.7 |
| अक्षय 4.9 | अक्षोठ 7.7 fn. |
| अगद 23.188 | अक्षोल 7.7 |
| अगदङ्कार 23.186 | अङ्गद 22.21 |
| अगम 23.137 | अङ्गनाम्रिय 14.31 |
| अगरु 1.8 fn. | अङ्गवेष्टन 22.44 |
| अगस्ति 11.8 | अङ्गसंस्कार 22.7 |
| अगस्तिसत्त्व 5.10 | अङ्गार 22.38 |
| अगस्त्य 23.270 | अङ्गारधानका 22.37 |

अङ्गारवल्ली 15.20 fn.	अणु 19.18
अङ्गारवृत्त 14.35	अण्ड 23.89
अङ्गारशकटी 22.37	अण्डज 20.67,69;23.111,112
अङ्गुलि 23.158	अण्डजा 1.33
अङ्गुलिन् 23.90 fn.	अतसी 3.21
अङ्गुलिमुद्रा 22.22	अतिच्छत्र 10.45
अङ्गुलीय 22.21	अतिच्छत्र ६ 16.10
अङ्गुलियक 22.21 fn.	अतिच्छत्रा 2.24
अङ्गुष्ठ 23.159,161	अतिबला 7.43
अङ्गिघ्न 23.91	अतिमुक्त 11.15
अङ्गिघ्नपर्णी 15.20	अतिरोहितगन्ध 11.35 fn.
अचर 23.2	अतिलोहितगन्ध 11.35
अचुक 15.34 fn.	अतिविषा 3.20
अच्छक 15.34 fn.	अतिशूक 18.25
अच्छभल्ल 20.51	अतिसौरभ 8.6
अच्छुक 15.34	अत्यम्बा 8.11
अज 23.109	अत्युष्ण 21.28
अजगन्धिका 2.7	अद्रि 21.20
अजटा 13.14 fn.	अद्रिज 4.11
अजमल 18.22 fn.	अद्रिजात 4.1
अजमोदा 2.1,7	अद्रिमृद् 6.3
अजलोमन् 15.4,37	अधःपुष्पी 16.16
अजाजी 2.3	अधित्यका 21.22
अजान्त्री 17.21	अधिवासन 22.28
अजिन 23.117	अधिश्रयणी 22.39
अजिनयोनि 20.39	अर्धशुक 22.13
अज्झटा 13.14	अधोघण्टा 10.30
अञ्जन 6.3,20,22,23;22.62,66;23.261	अध्यण्डा 13.13;17.6
अञ्जनिक 17.23 fn.	अध्वन् 22.3,56
अञ्जलि 23.176,207	अध्वनीन 22.58
अञ्जलिका 17.23 fn.	अध्वन्य 22.58

अनङ्गु 22.80	अप् 23.37, 230
अनन्ता 3.29; 15.3, 31; 17.17 fn.	अपक् 20.77 fn.
अनल 23.39	अपचित 22.68
अनल्पपुष्पी 16.25	अपटु 23.187
अनशन 22.67	अपनस 7.9
अनस् 22.75	अपानद्रण 22.5 5
अनाक्रान्ता 10.19	अपमृत्यु 23.255
अनातप 23.76	अपराजिता 11.37
अनामिका 23.160	अपान 23.87, 209
अनाहत 22.9	अपामागे 10.29
अनित्तु 16.4, 28	अपुष्प [०पूष्य ?] 18.22
अनिद्रक 19.10 fn.	अपूष 20.78
अनिल 23.41, 258	[अपूष्य] 18.22
अनुग 23.185, 189	अप्चर 20.36
अनुपदिना (?) 22.32	अप्रहत 23.22
अनुवर्तिन् 22.88	अफेन 4.1 fn.
अनूप 23.9, 13	अन्ज 13.19
अनेकप 20.60 fn.	अब्द 23.54, 62, 258
अन्तःकोटरपुष्पी 17.20	अब्धि 21.6
अन्तःपुरोचित 22.50	अब्धिकफ 4.21
अन्तक 23.254	अब्धिफेन 4.1
अन्तरीक्ष 23.43	अभय 2.17
अन्तरीय 22.13	अभया 3.24
अन्तर्गल 16.1, 12	अभिधान 22.88; 23.243
अन्ति (?) 23.93	अभिनिर्घाण 22.57
अन्त्र 23.116	अभिषुत 20.9
अन्धकार 23.80	अभिसर 23.189
अन्धकूप 21.19 fn.	अभोरुपत्री 7.38
अन्धस् 20.3	अभ्यङ्ग 22.1, 5
[अन्धु] 21.19	अभ्यवहारक 22.60
अन्न 20.3, 5	अभ्युष 20.77

अभ्रक 6.25 fn.
 अमत्र 23.193
 अमर 17.34 fn.
 अमरपुष्पिका 16.16
 अमरा 10.14,34
 अमात्य 22.48
 अमृत 6.5;21.36
 अमृतवल्ली 10.15
 अमृता 3.24,27;10.1,14
 अमृतोत्पन्न 6.28
 अमृताह्वया 23.79
 अमोघा 11.31
 [अम्बक] 23.96
 अम्बर 15.2;23.219
 अम्बरा 15.23
 अम्बष्ठकी 10.5 fn.
 अम्बष्ठा 8.20;10.5;11.42
 अम्बष्ठिका 10.5
 अम्बु 21.2;23.36
 अम्बुकण 23.40
 अम्बुज 1.3;13.19;14.1
 अम्बुजनिन्द 3.65 fn.
 अम्बुतनुजा 16.3 fn.
 अम्बुतलजा 16.3
 अम्बुद 2.1;23.222
 अम्बुनामन् 11.26
 अम्बुपत्रा 16.10 fn.
 अम्बुवाह 23.72
 अम्बिका [अम्लिका] 9.30
 अम्भःसार 5.6
 अम्भस् 23.36

अम्भसांपति 14.12
 अम्भोजा 3.3,42
 अम्भोधि 21.1
 अम्ल 21.41;23.81,82
 अम्लक 8.2;9.30 fn.
 अम्लकेसर 8.31
 अम्लपत्रा 16.12
 अम्ललोणिका 8.20
 अम्लवास्तुक 9.7
 अम्लवेतस 8.23;9.31
 अम्लाढ्य 8.9
 अमृान 11.27
 अम्लिका 8.22; [9.30];23.251
 अम्लोत्तम 8.5
 अयन 22.56;23.54,60,66
 अयस् 6.10
 अयस्कान्त 6.12
 अयोमल 6.13
 अरणि 14.1,6
 अरण्य 23.225
 अरण्यसम्भूत 12.10
 अरन्नि 23.163
 अरविन्द 13.20
 अरिमर्द 19.19 fn.
 अरिमेद 4.20
 अरिष्ट 13.15;14.8;21.41;23.255
 अरिष्टा 3.16
 अरुहकर 23.261
 अर्क 11.43 fn.;23.10 fn.,61
 अर्कपत्रा 17.11
 अर्कपुष्पा 15.3

- अर्कपुष्पिका 15.33
 अर्कमूला 17.11
 अर्कवेध 3.33
 अर्गाट 16.12
 अर्घ्याट 16.12 fn.
 अर्घ्यात 16.12 fn.
 अर्चन 22.62
 अर्जक 11.3,30
 अर्जकज 14.2,26
 अर्जुन 14.2,27;23.266
 अर्जुनोपम 15.7
 अर्णव 21.6
 अर्णस् 23.37
 अर्ध 23.177,223
 अर्धपल 23.174
 अर्धमाष 23.170
 अर्मण 23.181
 अर्वेन् 23.77
 अर्वुक (?) 15.29 fn.
 अर्शःसूदन 13.10 fn.
 अर्शसूदन 13.10
 अर्हण 22.68
 अलक्तक 4.26
 अलङ्कार 22.16
 अलम्बुष 10.11
 अलम्बुषा 7.40;10.11 fn.
 अलक 11.14;20.48;23.243
 अलस 23.216
 अलसान्द्र 18.19
 अलात 22.38
 अलावु 12.12
 अलि 20.49
 अलिप्रिया 11.31
 अल्पकेशी 15.38
 अल्पगन्ध 13.25
 अल्पपत्रक 7.29 fn.
 अल्पसरस् 21.18
 अल्पसिक्थका 20.8
 अवगाह 22.6
 अवदंश 23.107
 अवनी 23.7
 अवन्तिसोम 20.10
 अवरोहक 15.26 fn.
 अ-ल्लुजा 3.1,12 fn.
 अवश्याय 21.32;23.65,68
 अवाक्पुष्पी 16.16
 अविप्रिय 19.3
 अव्यथा 3.24
 अशन 14.42 fn;22.60
 अशनि 5.2;23.73
 अशनिलता 17.3 fn.
 अशिर 5.15
 अशोक 11.4,40
 अश्मगभे 5.2,18
 अश्मज 4.11
 अश्मजाति 5.3
 अश्मन् 21.21
 अश्मन्त 22.39
 अश्मभिद् 16.26
 अश्मरी 19.18 fn.
 अश्मरीप्रिय 19.16 fn.
 अश्मरीरिपु 18.26;19.16

अश्महन् 18.2
 अश्रुमोक्षण 22.83
 अश्व 22.77; 23.229
 अश्वकर्ण 17.2, 22
 अश्वखुर 1.48
 अश्वखुरी 11.38
 अश्वगन्धक 15.25
 अश्वगन्धा 15.25
 अश्वतरी 11.38 fn.
 अश्वत्थ 14.2, 24
 अश्वपुत्री 16.8 fn.
 अश्वमारक 11.36
 अश्वहन् 11.3
 अश्ववारोहक 15.26
 अष्टक 6.49 fn.
 अष्टन् 23.63
 अष्टपादिका 11.12
 अष्टवर्ग 3.3, 44
 असंज्ञान 23.242
 असन 14.26, 42
 असित 23.254
 असिता 16.6
 असिपत्र 7.25
 असिर 5.15 fn.
 असृग्धरा 23.93
 असृज् 23.118
 अस्थि 23.115, 122
 [अस्थिवर्तिन्] 23.125
 अस्थिशमनी 17.3
 अस्थिसंहार 17.34
 अस्त्र 23.118, 210

अस्त्राङ्ग 6.4
 अहन् 23.201
 अहि 20.34, 58; 23.277
 अहिंसा 14.23
 अहिपर्णी 17.5 fn.
 अहिफेन 6.49
 अहोरात्र 23.54, 58
 अह्लाट 16.12 fn.
 आकाश 23.42
 आकाशमांसी 1.30
 आकाशाध्वन् 22.64
 आकुटित 23.201
 आकृति 23.48
 आखु 10.3; 20.30, 53
 आखुपणिका 10.39
 आखुपर्णी 10.49
 आखुमुज् 20.52
 आखुविष 6.52
 आखुविषजित् 14.16
 आखेट 22.51
 आचाम 20.19
 आच्छादन 22.8
 आच्छोदन 22.51
 आज 23.109
 आज्य 21.4, 43
 आटरूषक 10.17
 आढक 21.179
 आढक्वाप 23.25
 आढकिक 23.25
 आढकी 18.1, 16
 आतप 23.66, 78

- आतपत्र 22.2,35
 अत्मगुप्ता 17,7
 आदर्श 22.25
 आनूप 14.15
 आपक 20.77
 आपगा 21.7
 आपान 23.106
 आपीड 22.31
 आप्लव 22.6
 आप्लाव 22.6
 आभरण 22.1,16
 आमगन्धि 23.46
 आमण्ड 15.29
 आमयाविन् 23.187
 आमल 8.1
 आमलकी 3.27
 आमिष 23.119
 आमिषगन्धिनी 1.37
 आमोद 23.45
 आम्र 8.1,6
 आम्रात 8.3
 आम्रातक 8.28
 आयत 23.159
 आयस 6.10
 आयुध 23.218,236
 आरकूट 6.14
 आरग्वध 14.11
 आरनालक 20.9
 आराम 22.47
 आरेवत 14.10
 आर्तव 21.3
 आर्द्रक 13.2,36
 आर्द्रिका 13.36 fn.
 आल 6.4,38
 आलु 13.2,27
 आलेख्य 23.225
 आलोक 23.78
 आवपन 23.193
 आवर्जनीयक 22.42
 आवर्त 5.17
 आवर्तिनी 17.10
 आवश्यक 22.4,88
 आवापक 22.20
 आवेगी 17.35
 आशन (?) 22.32
 आशय 21.25
 आशु 19.18;23.239
 आशुशुक्ष्णि 23.38
 आश्चर्य 23.225
 आष्टयामिक 21.30
 आसन 22.34
 आसव 23.106
 आसार 23.70
 आसुरी 9.37;23.240
 आस्फोटक 11.3;14.40
 आस्फोता 11.12,37
 आस्यप्रदह 9.4
 आहार 20.3;22.4,60
 आहितुण्डिक 23.268
 आह्लादिनी 23.79
 इकट 16.22 fn.
 इक्षु 7.3,26;23.138

इक्षुक 15.3 fn.
 इक्षुगन्धा 10.27
 इक्षुतुल्या 16.28
 इक्षुमूल 23.216
 इक्षुर 10.44
 इक्षुवाल्मिका 16.28
 इक्षुविकृति 23.223
 इक्षुविदारी 13.6
 इक्षुवाकु 12.13
 इक्षुवाल्मिका 16.28
 इक्षुद 23.270
 इक्षुदी 9.14;14.3,35
 इच्छा 23.244
 इत्कट 16.3,22
 इध्म 23.196
 इन्दीवर 13.23
 इन्दीवरी 7.37;17.10
 इन्दुकान्त 5.2
 इन्दुर 20.53 fn.
 इन्दुरत्न 5.6
 इन्दुरु 20.53 fn.
 इन्द्रजा 3.3
 इन्द्रपुष्पा 6.51
 इन्द्रयव 3.54
 इन्द्रवारुणी 17.29;23.241
 इन्द्रसुरस 15.1,8;23.248
 इन्द्रसुरसा (०सी) 15.1 fn.
 इन्द्राणी 15.8
 इन्द्रिय 23.1,97,126,276
 इन्द्रोपल 5.16
 इन्धन 23.190,196

इभ 3.4;20.35;23.76
 इभदन्त्याह्वा 15.12
 इरा 23.101,230
 इषु 16.2,18
 इष्टगन्ध 23.44
 ईक्षण 23.96
 उकट 16.22 fn.
 उखा 23.192
 उख्य 23.121
 उग्रगन्धा 2.7,29;19.2
 उग्रा 2.26,30
 उक्षट 16.30 fn.
 उक्षटा 16.12 fn., 30 fn.
 उक्षार 23.127
 उच्छादन 22.45
 उज्जृम्भण 22.55
 उज्जृम्भित 23.148
 उडुम्बर 6.9;14.21
 उडुम्बरपर्णी 15.10
 उडुपुष्प 11.9 fn.
 उत्कव 23.149
 उत्कट 1.30;16.30;23.108
 उत्क्रम 22.82
 उत्तम 23.120
 उत्तमफलनी 17.33
 उत्तमा 3.50;6.37;17.3,33
 उत्तरीय 22.15
 उत्तानक 16.12 fn.
 उत्पल 2.22
 उत्पलशारिवा 17.16
 उत्पलव 22.63,87

उत्पलवन 22.82	उपरत्न 5.23
उत्स 21.24	उपल 21.21
उदक 11.2	उपवन 22.3,47
उदच् (गति) 23.61	उपवास 22.62
उदन्वत् 21.6	उपवासक 22.67
उदपान 21.19	उपविष 6.49
उदभण्ट (?) 15 28 fn.	उपसंभ्यान 22.13
उदमन्थ 20.26	उपसम्पन्न 20.74
उदर्शित् 21.41	उपस्कृत 23.23
उदित 19.4;22.84	उपस्थ 23.85,87.229
उदीच्य 11.26	उपाधान 22.42
उहाल 7.10;19.11	उपानह् 22.32
उद्धान 22.39	उपोदकी 9.28
उद्भिज्ज 23 111,113	उपोदिका 9.28 fn.
उद्भिद् 4.10;21.17	उमकृष्ट 23.24
उद्भिदा 21.1	उभयफल 13.31
उद्भिन्न 23.148	उमा 3.21
उद्यान 22.49	उरण 22.81
उद्वर्त 22.3	उरभ्र 22.81
उद्वर्तन 22.45	उरुकाल 17.24
उन्दुर 20.53	उर्वरा 23.30
उन्निद्र 23.148	उर्वुक (?) 15.29 fn.
उन्मत्त 15.17,	उलुक 20.55
उन्मद् 23.108	उलूक 20.33;23.268
उन्माथ 22.52	उलमुक 22.38
उन्मिषित 23.148	उल्लङ्घन 22 63,82
उन्मेष 23.56	उल्लुक 14.3;30 fn.;20.55 fn.
उपकुञ्चिका 2.5	उल्लुक 20.33 fn.
उपकुल्या 2.12	उल्लोच 22.43
उपचित्रा 15.9	उशीर 2.1,17
उपधातु 6.4	उषःपीत 21.33 fn.

उषण 3.13 fn; 23.81, 84

उषपीत 21.33

उषस् 21.3

उषस्तोय 21.33

उषित 21.2, 31

उष्ट्र 22.78

उष्ट्रभक्ष 15.27

उष्ट्रभक्ष्य 15.27 fn.

उष्ण 4.10; 21.2

उष्णिक् 22.12

उष्णीष 22.1, 27

उष्णोपगम 23.67

उष्म 4.10 fn.

उष्मन् 4.10 fn.; 23.67

उष्मागम 23.67

ऊर्णायु 22.81

ऊर्मिका 22.21 fn.

ऊल्लुक 14.30 fn.

ऊष 23.30

ऊषण 2.13; 9.16 fn.; 23.81

ऊषणा 2.11; 3.41

ऋक्ष 20.33, 51

ऋक्षकाञ्चनिक 17.23 fn.

ऋक्षगन्धा 17.23, 35

ऋक्षगन्धिका 13.8

ऋजुलम्बिन् 22.31

ऋतु 21.34; 23.54, 60, 63, 217, 233

ऋद्धि 3.43, 49; 23.245

ऋषभ 3.46; 22.80

ऋषभक 3.43

ऋषभी 17.7 fn.

ऋषिक 17.22 fn.

ऋषिका 17.23 fn.

ऋषिजा 17.2, 23 fn.

ऋषिजाङ्गलिक 17.23

ऋषिप्रोक्ता 17.12

ऋष्यप्रोक्ता 7.38, 43; 23.245

एककन्द 13.34

एककन्दफला 13.34 fn.

पकशिखा 10.6

एकाग्रिला 10.6 fn.

एकाग्रिला 10.6

एडका 22.81

एडगज 9.32

एण 8.3; 20.30; 23.11

एध 23.196

एधस् 23.196

एरएड 15.29; 23.100

एर्वार 12.8

एर्वारक 12.1

एलवालुक 1.21

एला 1.19, 23

एलापर्णी 3.57

ऐन्द्री 17.3, 29

ऐरावत 8.2, 21

ऐलेय 1.21

ओडपुष्प 11.9 fn.

ओडी 19.4

ओडपुष्प 11.9

ओतु 20.33, 52

ओदन 20.3

ओल्ल 13.1

ओषधी 23.135 138

ओषाधिक 8.19 fn.

ओष्ठरञ्जनी 17.5

ओष्ठी 7.3,36

औजाविक (?) 8.19 fn.

औत्पल 13.17

औधस्य 1.36

औषध 23.3,185,188

औषधप्रक्रिया (षड्विधा) 23.205

कंस 6.15;23.180

ककुभ 14.27;23.266

ककूल 1.2;23.264

ककूलक 1.31

ककलटी 6.31 fn.

ककलटि 6.31 fn.

ककलटी 6.31 fn.

कक 20.66,66 fn.

ककण 22.22

ककलिका 22.46

ककली 22.3

ककाल 23.123

ककु 19.1 fn.,5 fn.

ककु 19.1,5

कच 23.132

कचोर 2.1

कचोर 2.19

कच्छ 14.25

कच्छप 20.71

कच्छपी (?) 18.24

कच्छरा 17.6 fn.

कच्छुर 18.24 fn.

कच्छुरा 3.29,30;17.6

कज्जल 22.66

कञ्जाट 23.253

कञ्चुकिन् 15.14;18.4,24;20.66

कट 22.34

कटक 22.20

कटङ्कटेरी 3.31

कटभि 11.34

कटभी 11.34 fn.

कटम्भरा 10.46

कटिस्थ 23.192

कटु 1.7;23.83,218

कटुक 23.84,206

कटुकन्द 13.35

कटुका 3.17,18;14.2 fn.

कटुकापानी 14.23 fn.

कटुकापाली 14.23

कटुकालावु 12.13

कटुवित्तका 16.25

कटुत्रिक 23.206

कटुपुष्पिका 16.13

कटुभद्र 13.36 fn.

कटुरोहिणी 3.17;23.253

कटुलोमन् 19.10 fn.

कटफल 3.1,7

कटफला 7.12

कटवङ्ग 14.30

कठिनी 6.31

कठिल 12.10,18

कठिलक 9.18;23.207

कणजीरक 2.4

कणही 11.34
 कणा 2.11
 कणाङ्ग 19.6 fn.
 कणिक 19.8 fn.
 कण्टकारिका 10.20
 कण्टकिन् 3.65;4.20;14.37
 कण्टकिफल 7.9
 कण्ठभूषा 22.18
 कण्ठरोग 23.213
 कण्ठ्य 11.43
 कण्डुरा 17.6
 कण्डूर 13.9
 कस्तूण 13.18
 कथन 22.84
 कदम्ब 11.21;14.17 fn.
 कदम्बक 9.35 fn.
 कदम्बपुष्पा 7.41 fn.
 कदम्बपुष्पी 7.41
 कदर 4.19
 कदली 7.6;13.26
 कदुष्णक 21.29
 कनक 6.6;23.265
 कनकसंज्ञक 15.16
 कनकाह्वय 15.17
 कनिष्ठा 22.161,163
 कन्द 13.2,10,17,18;23.143
 कन्दक 13.2 fn.
 कन्दमूलक 13.17 fn.
 कन्दूर 21.23
 कन्दुराल 15.5 fn.
 कन्दूल 13.2

कन्दली 13.14 fn.,26 fn.
 कन्दु 22.38
 कन्या 13.5
 कपि 1.3;20.47
 कपिकच्छुका 17.7
 कपितैल 1.35
 कपित्थ 8.1,7
 कपिनामन् 1.35
 कपिपिप्पली 10.49
 कपिश 1.35
 कर्पातन 8.28;15.5
 कपोत 4.14
 कमठ 20.71
 कमण्डलुवृत्त 14.44
 कमल 13.19
 कम्पिल्लक 6.35
 कम्बल 9.27 fn.;22.12
 कम्बलांशुक 9.27
 कम्बलिवाहन 22.75
 कम्ब 23.194
 कम्बुका 15.26
 कम्बूक 15.3
 कर 23.90,164
 करका 23.75
 करज 14.3,32
 करजाख्य 1.48
 करञ्जक 14.32
 करट 20.33 fn.,54
 करण्ड 9.27 fn.
 करभ 10.49 fn.
 करभूषण 22.22

करमर्द 8.17
 करमर्दक 8.17
 करमर्दी 8.17
 करम्भ 20.24
 कररुह 23.128
 करवीर 11.36;18.16 fn.
 करवीरक 6.48
 करवीरभुजा 18.16
 करवीरिका 18.16 fn.
 करहाट 3.64
 कराम्ल 8.17 fn.
 करालक 11.28
 करालकलिक 11.39
 कराला 17.17
 करिन् 20.60 fn.;22.76
 करिर 23.10 fn.
 करीर 15.27;23.10 fn.
 करुणा 8.1,9
 करोटि 23.124
 कर्कट 6.49 fn.;12.10 fn.;20.37
 कर्कटक 6.46;20.72
 कर्कटशृङ्गी 3.5
 कर्कटाख्या 3.5
 कर्कटी 6.31 fn.;12.8
 कर्कन्धु 7.33;23.10 fn.
 कर्कश 9.19;12.15
 कर्कारक 12.3
 कर्कोट 12.2,10
 कर्कोटिका 17.26
 कर्ण 23.86,94
 कर्णभूषण 11.40

कर्णवेष्टन 22.18
 कर्णिकार 14.3,31
 कर्णिरथ 22.74
 कर्दम 6.46
 कर्पूर 1.1,5
 कर्मन् 23.1
 कर्मरङ्ग 8.16
 कर्मर्हि 23.52
 कर्मेन्द्रिय 23.85
 कर्चूरक 2.20
 कर् 23.172,221
 कर्षकलाभद 23.20
 कर्षचतुष्टय 23.174
 कर्षफला 3.27
 कलण्डु 9.27
 कलन्दु 9.27 fn.
 कलभ 10.49
 कलम 19.18
 कलमोत्तम 19.17
 कलम्बक 9.35
 कलम्बिका 9.25 fn.
 कलम्बी 9.3,25
 कलम्बु 9.25 fn.
 कलविङ्क 20.68 fn.
 कलविङ्ग 20.68
 कलश 23.181,192
 कलसी 10.26
 कलह 23.235
 कलहंस 20.65
 कला 23.53,56,57
 कलाङ्ग 19.6 fn.

कलाया 18.5
 कलिका 23.147
 कलिकोत्तम 1.45;19.17 fn.
 कलिङ्गक 3.54
 कलिङ्गा 3.6 fn.
 कलिङ्गाक्षी 10.31 fn.
 कलिद्रुम 3.26
 कल्क 23.195,200
 कल्कित 23.197
 कल्पक 2.20 fn.
 कल्पवृक्ष 3.26
 कल्प्य 23.242
 कवलग्रह 23.173
 कवलालुक 9.27 fn.
 कवोष्ण 21.29
 कशेरु 13.1
 कशेरुक 13.3 fn.
 कशेरुका 23.123
 कषाय 23.84,198,202,205
 कषायक 23.81,197
 कसनहन्त 9.2
 कसेरु 13.1 fn.
 कसेरुक 13.3
 कस्तिर्ण 6.16 fn.
 कस्तीर्ण 6.16
 कस्तुरिक 11.36 fn.
 कस्तुरिका 1.33
 कस्तूरी 1.3
 कस्तूरी 11.36
 कङ्क 20.66
 कांसी 6.33 fn.

कांस्यक 6.15
 कांस्यनील 6.25
 काक 20.54
 काकजङ्घा 10.38;23.275
 काकजम्बु 8.15
 काकणन्तिका 10.37;23.274
 काकतित्ता 10.38
 काकतिन्दुक 7.31
 काकनासा 23.274
 काकपीलुक 7.31
 काकभीरु 20.55
 काकमर्दक 17.24
 काकमाची 9.2,20;23.275
 काकशीर्ष 11.19
 काकादनी 10.38;14.22
 काकाह्वा 23.274
 काकेन्दु 7.31
 काकोडुम्बरिका 14.20
 काकां दुम्बरिका 23.275
 काकोल 6.41
 काकोली 3.44,51;23.274
 काक्षी 6.33
 काङ्कित 6.33 fn.
 काङ्क्षी 6.33 fn.
 काच 23.213
 काचस्थाली 11.31
 काञ्चन 6.7;11.24;15.2
 काञ्चनरस 6.39
 काञ्चनाल 11.25
 काञ्चनी 13.11
 काञ्ची 22.23

काञ्जिक 20.10;23.261
 काण्ड 16.18
 काण्डतित्तक 3.19
 काण्डसत्त्व 23.153
 काण्डास्थि 23.154
 काण्डनी 15.1,12
 काण्डेश 16.9,27
 कादम्ब 20.36,65
 कान्तलक 14.25
 कान्तलिक 14.25 fn.
 कान्ता 3.22
 कान्तार 7.27
 कान्ति 23.76
 कापाली 14.23
 कापोत 4.14 fn.
 काम 23.244
 कामदूती 11.32
 कामदेव 23.259
 कामुण्ड 6.49 fn.
 काम्पिलक 6.35 fn.
 काम्बोजी 23.247
 काम्भोजा 17.13
 काम्भोजी 17.13 fn.
 काय 23.238
 कायमर्द 8-2
 कारवी 2.5,24
 कारवेल्लक 12.18
 कारुक 8.2,16
 कार्पास 22.11
 कार्पासी 15.23
 काल 23,1,52,65,217,254

कालक 19.8
 कालकण्ठ 20.46
 कालकूट 6.44,49 fn.
 कालकोच 13.34
 कालकोठ 13.34 fn.
 कालकृत 9.19
 कालजीरक 23.246
 कालनिर्यास 4.27
 कालमार 11.28
 कालमुष्कक 16.7
 कालमेषी 17.16
 काललवण 4.8
 कालवृत्तिका 10.31 fn.
 कालवृन्तिका 10.31
 कालसेय 21.40
 कालस्कन्ध 7.30
 काला 3.14
 कालाङ्ग 19.6
 कालानुशारिवा 3.42 fn.
 कालानुसारिका 3.35 fn.
 *कालानुसारिवा 3.35,42
 कालायस 6.1,10
 कालिङ्ग 12.7 fn.
 कालिङ्गक 12.1
 कालिन्त्य 12.7 fn.
 कालिन्द 12.7
 कालिन्दी 21.11
 काली 3.14 fn.
 कालीयक 1.14
 कालेय 1.14
 कालेयक 3.31

कालोपकुञ्चिका 2.6
 काल्पक 2.20
 कावेरी 21.14
 काश 16.4,27 fn.
 काशिस 15.39 fn.
 काशीस 15.39
 काश्मरी 7.11 fn.
 काश्मर्यक 7.1
 काश्मीरज 1.27
 काश्मीरा 3.20
 काष्ठ 23.196
 काष्ठपुष्प 11.17
 काष्ठा 23.53,56
 कास 16.27
 कासध्री 4.17
 कासनाशिनी 3.6
 कासमर्द 9.19
 कासमर्दक 17.24 fn.
 कासर 20.62
 कासार 21.16
 कास्मरी 7.11
 कास्मीरा 3.20 fn.
 किशुक 14.4,39
 किङ्कर 23.189
 किङ्किलास 11.40
 किट्ट 6.13;23.195,226
 किण्णिहा 11.34 fn.
 किन्नर 23.19
 किन्नरेश 23.21
 किम्पाक 17.2,24

किराततित्त 3.19
 किरातिनी 1.29
 किरि 20.61
 किरोट 22.17
 किलाट 21.39
 किलिम 1.17 fn.
 किशलय 23.145
 कीकस 23.122
 कीट 23.190
 कीर 20.46
 कुकाञ्चन 6.14
 कुक्कुट 20.31,44;23.260
 कुक्कुटि 16.4,30
 कुक्कुटी 16.30 fn.
 कुक्कुर 20.48;23.243
 कुङ्कुम 1.2;27;23.208
 कुचन्दन 3.62
 कुचेला 10.5
 कुञ्जर 20.60 fn.
 कुञ्जल 20.10
 कुटज 3.53
 [कुटज] फल 3.54
 कुटन्नट 2.16
 कुटरसा 17.32
 कुटिल 3.35
 कुडव 23.176,177,179,207
 कुडवद्वय 23.178
 कुण्ड 23.192
 कुण्डल 22.18
 कुण्डली 10.15

- कुतार 6.16 fn.
 कुथ 16.31
 कुदाल 19.10
 कुनटी 6.37
 कुन्तल 23.132
 कुन्द 11.4,39
 कुन्दु 1.47
 कुन्दुरु 1.4,47
 कुपीला (क-पला ?) 3.8 fn.
 कुवेरक 14.25
 कुवेराची 10.31;11.32
 कुमरीचक 9.33
 कुमारिका 11.7
 कुमारी 13.5
 कुमुद 13.24
 कुमुद 13.24
 कुमुदा 7.12
 कुमुदावृत 23.32
 कुमुद्वत 23.32
 कुम्भ 23.182
 कुम्भका 7.41 fn.
 कुम्भकारी 17.27
 कुम्भज 11.8
 कुम्भदा 7.41 fn.
 कुम्भपर्णी 12.3
 कुम्भफली 12.3 fn.
 कुम्भला 7.41 fn.
 कुम्भवारुणा 7.41
 कुम्भवारुणी 7.41 fn.
 कुम्भाण्ड 12.3
 कुम्भिक 11.23
 कुम्भिका 16.23
 कुम्भी 3.7;11.32;15.16
 कुम्भीक 11.23 fn.
 कुम्भीर 20.37,70
 कुरङ्ग 20.30,39
 कुरण्टक 10.13
 कुरुचिल्व 2.16 fn.
 कुरुवक 9.11
 कुरुवन्द 2.16;18.18
 कुरुद 16.30 fn.
 कुलक 7.31;9.11
 कुलस्थ 18.1
 कुलस्थक 18.20
 कुलस्थिका 17.27
 कुलान्तक 3.28 fn.
 कुलाली 17.27
 कुलाशक 3.28 fn.
 कुलासक 3.28
 कुलाहक 10.11 fn.
 कुलाहल 10.11
 कुलि 14.25
 कुलिक 9.11 fn.;14.2,23,25 fn.
 कुलिकच्छ 14.25 fn.
 कुलिङ्ग 16.30 fn.;20.68
 कुलिङ्गक 3.54 fn.
 कुलिङ्गा 3.6
 कुलिङ्गाची 10.31
 कुलिङ्गाख्या 10.31 fn.
 कुलिङ्गी 3.6 fn.
 कुलिञ्ज 2.32
 कुलिश 23.73

कुलिशाह्वय 17.34

कुली 10.21

कुलीर 20.72

कुलीरशृङ्गी 3.6

कुल्मल 16.15 fn.

कुल्माष 18.20;19.17;20.9

कुल्माषाभिषुत 20.9

कुल्य 23.122

कुवर 8.26 fn.

कुवल 8.26 fn.

कुवलय 13.23

कुश 16.4,31;23.17

कुशपुष्प I.16

कुशिक 17.22

कुशेशय 13.20

कुष्ठ 2.1,22,23;23.237

कुष्ठनाशन 15.13

कुष्ठनाशिनी 3.13

कुष्माण्ड 12.1,3

कुसुम 23.146

कुसुमोदर 8.19

कुस्तिण 6.16 fn.

कुस्तुम्बुरु 2.26

कूट 21.22

कूटयन्त्र 22.52

कूटरणा 17.32 fn.

कूप 21.2,19

कूप्य 21.38 fn.

कूर्म 20.37,71

कूलकृण 16.15

कुकवाकु 20.44

कृतक 6.20

कृतच्छिद्रा 12.17

कृतमाल 14.10

कृतवेधन 12.16

कृतान्नवर्ग 20.2

कृत्रिम 1.7,35;6.19

कृमि 23.113

कृमिकोषज 22.10

कृशरा 20.14

कृष्ट 23.23

कृष्ण 1.8;2.5,13;19.18

कृष्णकञ्चुक 18.4 fn.

कृष्णका 9.37

कृष्णचञ्चुक 18.4 fn.

कृष्णचूडक 18.4 fn.

कृष्णचूरक 18.4 fn.

कृष्णजटा 1.28

कृष्णपक्ष 23.59

कृष्णपरी 10.26 fn.

कृष्णपल्लवा 9.25

कृष्णपिण्डातक 12.4 fn.

कृष्णपिण्डार 12.4

कृष्णपिण्डारु 12.4 fn.

कृष्णपूतिफला 3.13 fn.

कृष्णफला 10.37 fn.

कृष्णमुद्ग 18.12

कृष्णयावनाल 18.27

कृष्णलवण 4.9

कृष्णला 18.16

कृष्णवल्ली 11.28

कृष्णवृक्ष 18.4

कृष्णवृन्ता 17.13

कृष्णवृन्तिका 7.12

कृष्णसारा 14.19

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[PART II

BHARATA'S NĀṬYA-ŚĀSTRA,

CHAPTER II.

[MAṆḌAPA-VIDHĀNA]

By DR. S. C. SARKAR, M. A., D. PHIL. (OXON.).

The text (with var. lec.) which I have translated here is that of the Gaek. Or. Series. There is no critical edition of Bharata's Nāṭya-Śāstra, which discusses points of historical or artistic or technical interest in detail. The present closely literal translation of and the notes on this 2nd Chapter of the work will show how inadequately the subject of the Indian Theatre has been treated so far by scholars. There is of course much more to know and appreciate (from the proper angle) about the dramatic art in ancient India ; but a consideration of this comparatively small topic alone should serve as an eye-opener. It will also be seen from this, that all the fine arts were in due proportion employed in the service of the Stage,—like painting, sculpture, architecture, all forms of music, various branches of craftsmanship,—as also literature and prosody in a wide sense and dancing in very great detail of technique. From this fact can be appreciated the ancient Indian dictum that all the fine arts are concentrated in the dramatic art, which is the greatest art. Finally, it should be fairly easy to reconstruct admirable models of the Ancient Indian Theatre from these translations and notes ; some artists should attempt it, and I should be glad to assist them.

1. Then hearing these words of Bharata, the thinkers (sages) replied : “ We wish to hear from thee, O (fortunate) venerable one, about the rites of worship pertaining to the (starting of the) Theatre,—

In st. 1:—‘Yajanam’: rites,—not sacrifice.

2. Or rather, whatever actions are to be taken in that matter, both constructional as indicated in the treatises on distinctive characteristics (of the theatre), as well as ritualistic,—and how men in times to come might execute them in (starting) a Theatre Mansion (or Hall).

3. Here (in this country to-day), of the practice of the Dramatic Art the primary (first) step (or mainstay) is definitely the Theatre-Hall; hence, in the first place, it would be the characteristic features of this (theatre-hall) that thou mightest deem worth speaking about."

4. Hearing this speech (request) of those sages, Bharata said: "Listen ye, about the characteristics of construction, as well as the rituals of worship, in respect of the Theatre-House:"—

5. In the chambers as well as the (surrounding) gardens of the (Theatre-Halls of or dedicated to the) divine beings (deities) [or, in the mansions (temples) and shrine-parks of the gods], (is found) creative art of a spiritual (symbolic) (or imaginative) character,

5.A. [Which is the resultant of whatever emotional states are experienced,—and all those emotions are super-human (extraordinary).] (But) (in the apartments and gardens of the theatre-halls) of men, the constructional acts (or methods) as laid down (or specified) in the treatises on the distinctive characteristics (of theatres) are to be scrupulously followed.

In st. 2:—'Kriyā': construction (also ceremonies of worship).—'Lakṣaṇam': treatises on distinctive characteristics (of something).—'Nāṭya-veśman': Theatre-'Palace', or—'Mansion', or—'Hall.'—'Bhaviṣyadbhiḥ': it seems this preamble was added in the Gupta period (which stereotyped many aspects of Indian culture for posterity), to maintain ancient traditions in the midst of great political and social turmoil of that age.

In st. 3:—'Iha': this points to a special feature of 'Indian' dramaturgy as compared with that of other 'contemporary' ancient civilizations,—viz., the dependence of the dramatic art on the construction of the Theatre-Hall (or the Theatre organisation and institution of the Stage as the instrument of expression of the dramatic art).—'Nāṭya-yoga': practice of the dramatic art. —'Nāṭya-Maṇḍapa': 'maṇḍapa', here means "an *open hall*, for *festive*, or *recreative*, purposes" (this term has a number of meanings).

In st. 5 and 5a:—[This stanza (5) is practically repeated, with variant readings, in (27) and (28) below. Probably the line,—'Tasmāt deva-kṛtaiḥ bhāvaiḥ na viṣpārdheta mānuṣaḥ' of (28a) is lost here between the 2nd and the 3rd line] —'Divyānam', i. e., 'nāṭya-veśmanām',—'grheṣu upa-vaneṣu ca': found in the Mansions

6. Hear ye about that,—how and where the Theatre-Hall has to be built,—(the methods of) its site (selection) and foundation (laying) as well as its sacred ceremonials, and how they have to be applied carefully.

7. A threefold conformation (type-classification) (of Theatres) was conceived of (designed) scientifically (*or*, on the basis of previous treatises), by the talented 'Viśvakarman' ['world-architect' (master-architect)], after examining the theatre-houses here (in this country):—

8. 'Vikṛṣṭa' (Extensive, Rectangular), and 'Caturasra' (Quadrangular, Square), as well as 'Tryasra' (Triangular, equilateral or isosceles), are the 'Maṇḍapa' (Theatre-Hall) (types); of them threefold are the dimensions : major, middling and minor.

(Temples) and (surrounding) Shrine-Parks (obviously full of pavillions, tanks, statuary, etc.) of the gods.—'Mānasī sṛṣṭiḥ': creative art of an intellectual and spiritual (or symbolic) character, original in conception.—'Yathā-bhāvābhicirvartya(h)',—i. e., 'mānasī sṛṣṭiḥ',—(creative art) which is the resultant of whatever 'bhāvāḥ' (emotional states) are experienced.—'Sarve bhāvāstu mānuṣāḥ': obviously wrong reading for 'sarve bhāvās tvamānuṣāḥ': which 'bhāvāḥ' (emotions), again, are super-human or extraordinary ('amānuṣāḥ').—'Narāṇām'—i. e., 'nāṭya-veśmani': in the matter of 'human', i. e., secular theatre-houses, as opposed to the temple theatres.—'Lakṣaṇābhīhitāḥ kriyāḥ': constructional processes as laid down in treatises on 'Lakṣaṇa' (of 'nāṭya-veśma'), i. e., on distinctive characteristics of Theatre-Halls.

In st. 6:—'Vāstu': foundations.—'Pūjā': rituals.

In st. 7:—'Iha': as before, this refers to a special feature of contemporary Indian stage architecture ; here also, a standardisation in the Gupta period may be indicated. [It might seem possible that this line is a later addition belonging to the Pāla period,—since " Dhīmatā Viśvakarmāṇā " may also be taken to mean " by the master architect 'Dhīmān' (collaborator of 'Viṭa-pāla', both well-known architects and sculptors of the Pāla age, whose works have come down in Tibetan translations from Sanskrit). In this case the stereotyping of Theatre-Halls would have to be placed in the 9th century A. D.—But cf. " nāṭyācāryeṇa dhīmatā " later on (st. 65), where 'dhīmatā' can only be an adjective].—'Prekṣā-grha'. lit., 'house where shows are witnessed'; playhouse or Theatre.—'Viśva-karman': master architect,—architect of world-wide reputation,—versatile architect or artist [would apply to 'Dhīmān' of Pāla period very well].—'Sanniveśa': conformation.—'Śāstrataḥ parikalpitaḥ': scientifically designed, or planned in accordance with tradition of older scientific treatises on architecture.

In st. 8:—'Tryasra': grammatically irregular ; the correct word is not 'asra' but 'aśri'=side, angle, corner. In subsequent passages the variant 'vyasra' also occurs ; 'vyasra' may also have been intended in the present passage: the metre

9. Their measurements are defined with reference to the (standard of the) Cubit and the Staff : 108, 64, or only 32 cubits.

10. The Major Hall is designed to be of 108 cubits, the Medium of 64, and the Minor of 32.

11. (The theatre-halls) (in the temples) of the deities should be of the Major (type), those of (or built or patronised by) the rulers of men (princes or high officials) of the Medium (type), while those of (or owned or built by) the rest (or others) and the people (or popular bodies) are usually planned on the Minor (Junior) (scale).

[12. Of all the (types of) theatre-houses, the Medium (type) is traditionally regarded as the most commendable ; (for) therein the parts (speeches) as well as the songs are sure to become more easily and pleasantly audible.]

[13. Of all the theatre-houses the manner (of construction) is traditionally regarded by builders as threefold :—extensive and rectangular, quadrangular or square, and triangular ;]

[14. The Minor (type) has been held by the appliers of the Dramatic Science (or by the builders of Theatre-Mansions) to be the Triangular, the Medium the Square, and the Major the Extensive-rectangular.]

15. Of all these Theatre-houses, the measurements and the characteristics that have been defined (laid down) by Viśvakarman (the Master Architect), follow ye (now) :—

would stand if we read 'tryasra-vyasra tu' (or °ca) instead of 'tryasraścaivatu' (which is full of superfluities); in that case 'tryasra' and 'vyasra' would together form one class, 'a non-rectangular' one,—the former referring to equilateral and isosceles forms, the latter to 'vi asra', curvilinear, i. e., semicircular or horse-shoe forms. This last type of theatre-halls, caityas or temples, were also known in ancient Indian architecture.

In st. 11:—'Nṛ-pāṇām, : of rulers of men,—royalty and high officials.—'Śeṣ-āṇām, prakṛtīṇām': i. e., of other (prominent) individuals apart from princes and high officials,—like merchants, or literary men, or leading courtesans,—and of the different sections of the subject or masses of the people,—like the guilds ('goṣṭhī', 'gaṇa'), etc.; we might call them 'gaṇa-nāṭya-grhāṇ'.

In st. 14:—'Nāṭya-Veda': cf. 'Gāndharva-Veda'; var. lec., 'nāṭya-veśma'.

In st. 15 to 19:—'Aṇu' = $\frac{3}{1,048,576}$ inch ; 8 'aṇu' = 1 'rajas' = $\frac{3}{131,072}$ inch ;

16. *Aṇu* (atom), *Rajas* (dust), *Vāla* (hair), *Likṣā* (louse's egg), *Yūkā* (louse), *Yava* (barley), *Aṅguli* (finger), *Hasta* (cubit), and *Daṇḍa* (staff),—these are (the measures) enumerated.

17. Eight 'atoms' have been held to make one 'dust' (particle), eight of them are said to make one 'hair' (-breadth); and eight 'hairs' become one 'louse-egg', eight of 'louse-eggs' become one 'louse';

18. and eight 'lice' are to be known as one 'barley', and similarly eight 'barleys' as one 'finger'; likewise, twenty-four 'fingers' are said to make one 'hand' (cubit);

19. and by measure (by way of standard) it has been laid down that the 'staff' shall be of four 'cubits'. By this very standard of measurement are we going to describe the particulars.

20. The Hall that may be raised for (the use of) mortals in this country should be made 64 cubits by length and of width 32.

21. Above this (limit or scale) the Theatre-Hall should not be planned by the designers (or the executive of the theatre), for thereby the acting surely falls into (suffers from) an inexplicit character (inexpressiveness).

22. Indeed in the Halls of the extensive (extended) scale, the voice (sound) of the uttered (properly articulated) speech (parts of actors) undergoes much distortion (is converted into a highly unnatural voice), owing to (such a Hall's) characteristic of not allowing (sounds) to escape (being re-echoed or prolonged).

23. Then again, those emotional expressions pertaining to the face, associated with various kinds of looks (movements of the eyes,

8 'rajas' = 1 'vāla' = $\frac{3}{16,384}$ inch; 8 'vāla' = 1 'likṣā' = $\frac{3}{2048}$ inch; 8 'likṣā' = 1 'yūkā' = $\frac{3}{256}$ inch; 8 'yūkā' = 1 'yava' = $\frac{3}{32}$ inch; 8 'yava' = 1 'aṅguli' = $\frac{3}{4}$ inch; 24 'aṅguli' = 1 'hasta' = 18 inches; 4 'hasta' = 1 'daṇḍa' = 2 yds.—'Pramāṇena': acc. to standard scale or measurements. These measures must have originated from moving bands of male and female manual labourers, with dusty feet, unkept hair and plain food.

In st. 22:—Acc. to a var. lec.,—"Owing to letter-sounds being inadequately expressible in (such a Hall)."

In st 23:—Acc. to var. lec. (a): "those facial expressions showing the working up (creation) of emotions, and based on the several 'Sentiments'"; acc. to var. lec.

etc.),—they are reduced to the utmost inexplicity (inappreciability), owing to the extensive (elongated) character of the Hall.

24. Therefore of all the (types of) Theatre-Houses the Medium one is regarded as preferable, within such limits as the parts enacted as well as the songs rendered remain comparatively pleasant and satisfying to the ear.

[25. Tradition knows of three types of plans for all the Theatre-Houses,—Extensive (rectangular), Quadrangular (square), and Triangular (2 or 3 equal sided).]

[26. Of these the triangular is traditionally regarded by the Constructors of Theatre Mansions as the Minor (type), the Square the Medium, and the Rectangular is to be known as the Major (type).]

[27. In the chambers as well as the surrounding parks of the (Theatre-Halls of or dedicated to, the) divine beings (deities) [*or*, in the Mansions (Temples) and shrine-parks of the gods], (is found) creative art of a spiritual (symbolic, or imaginative, character, which is executed without (conscious) effort, and the actions, behaviour and emotions (represented) are all definitely superhuman [*or*, which is the resultant of whatever emotional states are experienced,—and all the emotions are superhuman (extraordinary).]

[28. Therefore (the mere, ordinary, secular) man should not attempt to rival the imaginative or fanciful creations (of art) wrought and designed for the purpose of the (temples of the) gods. So I will explain concisely the characteristics of the (Theatre-) House of (the common) man.]

(b): “those facial expressions of sentiment based on emotional eye-movements and variations of the trend of emotion (in the play’.

In st. 27 and 28:—[These 4 lines are a fuller re-statement of the 3 lines of st. 5 above.—The correct reading in (27B) is clearly: ‘yatnābhāvāt.....hyamānuṣāḥ, for ‘yatnābhāvāt.....hi mānuṣāḥ’].—‘Deva-kṛta’: wrought or designed for the purpose of the temples (of the gods), i. e., of the theatres (‘nāṭya-mandira’) attached to the temples.—‘Bhāva’: imaginative or fanciful designs.—‘Amānuṣāḥ’ bhāvāḥ: superhuman actions, behaviour and emotions.—‘Yatna’: conscious effort.—Mānuṣāḥ (nāṭya-)gehāḥ=‘human’, i. e. secular or popular theatre-houses (Peoples’ Theatres) as opp. to Temple Theatres.

29. The constructor should previously examine (verify) the classification (i. e. the quality) of the land (site); then he may proceed with the lay-out (foundation), according to his own choice (of type) but according to the standard measurements (for each type).

30. The executive body (or the builders) (of the Theatre) should lay out the Theatre Hall only on that site (the soil of) which is level and uniform, firm and stable, hardened, black or grey (white).

31. After doing the preliminary (or surface) cleansing (or clearing), (the site) should be ploughed deep all over with the plough, and the bones, skulls and pegs (stakes or stumps) as well as the grass (-roots) and thickets (clumps), should be cleared off.

32. After the cleansing of the earth, the measurements should be directed (conducted); in the matter of the construction of Theatres (or in business relating to the Theatre), the Hastā, Tisṛyā and Anurādhā (constellations) are (deemed as) most auspicious.

33. The three 'Uttara' (constellations) [i. e., Uttarāṣāḍhā, Uttara-Phalguni, Uttara bhādrapadā], 'Saumya' [i. e., 'Mṛga-śirā'] Viśākhā and Revatī (are also auspicious). And the white (bleached) string (measuring line) is to be extended under the Puṣyā constellation.

31=34. The (measuring) line (string) should be made by those who know (the craft) out of 'kārpāsa', 'balbaja', 'muñja', or 'valkala', and should have no breaks (or joinings or knots) [or, should be so strong as not to snap].

In st. 31:—'Kila': peg, stake, stump (wooden).—'Gulma': thickets, clumps, stubble.

In st. 32 and 33:—[L. 2 of (32) should be replaced by l. 2 of (33), and should be joined to l. 1 of (33) to form (33).]—'Saumyam': this term is also applied to Revatī and Anurādhā.

In st. 34:—[Henceforwards there is a difference of 3 in the stanza no., owing to a misprint in the Gaek. Or. Series Edn., where after (33), (31) begins again].—'Valkala': made of 'bark' of 'Valkala-taru' (Areca Palm or Areca Catechu), or of 'Valkala-druma' (Betula Bhojapatra), or of 'Valkala-patra' (Phoenix Paludosa), or of 'Valka-r (l) odhra' (a variety of Lodhra, also simply called 'Valkala'), or of 'Valkala' (Cassia). The inside of the 'Valkala' bark yielded long, creamy-white, glossy, silken fibres of fine quality, which was used for manufacture of fine fabrics of silken texture, used for sacred purposes and in monastic 'āśramas' (for making vests and robes).—'Bālbaja': made of 'balbaja' or 'balba'=a coarse grass, Eleusina Indica (disliked by cattle).—'Sapaja': made of Cannabis Sativa or Crotolaria Jaunceia, a kind of Hemp.—'Mañja': made of Saccarum Sara.

32=35. If the line snaps into halves the proprietor's death is sure to happen ; by the chain snapped in three parts the displeasure of the State (or the King) is brought on (or indicated);

33=36. if snapped in four parts, they say the constructor (architect) is ruined ; even by the slipping (dropping) of the line from the hand, some loss (damage) or other must happen.

34=37. Therefore, it is desirable to take up (use) the (measuring) chain always with great care ; with the same great care should the measurements of the theatre-hall be made.

35=38. After having gratified (the) Brāhmaṇas, prayers are to be offered for the auspicious day [*or*, a happy, auspicious day is to be wished and proclaimed], with the 'tithi', 'karaṇa' and 'muhūrta' being favourable.

36=39. After that, propitiatory sacred water is to be sprinkled, and thereafter the line should be stretched.—Taking (the hall length of, 64 cubits, and dividing (it) in two halves,—

37=40.—then taking the half that lies to the back (of the hall) and dividing this too equally,—with (the frontal) equal half thereof, the 'head' (or frontal facade) of the Stage is to be laid out.

38=41. Then the tiring and toilet (or 'green') room is to be planned (directed) in the other half to the back,—dividing the sections according to rules and in regular serial order as laid down (in texts).

39=42. The setting up of the vault and ceiling [*or* marking out, laying out, of the Hall] (is to be done) in auspicious conjunction of stars (constellations) with the loud sounding of conch-shells and large kettle-drums, and with 'mr̥daṅga', cymbals (or tabors], etc.

In st. 35:—Var. lec., 'rāṣṭra-kṣobha': turmoil in the state ; 'rāṣṭram koṣaśca hyate': the state and the treasury suffer losses.

In st. 42:—'Niveśanam': laying out.—'Dundubhi': a large drum, probably beaten by ball-headed sticks —'Mr̥dam-ga': lit., "going about while being beaten"; probably the same as 'Mard-al(r)a' (=vern. 'mādal') of same meaning ; 'mr̥daṅga' may also be derived as 'mrd-aṅga', ea then-bodied,—apparently the same as 'Khol' (which is earthen), the vern. form of 'Kāhala' (°lā, °lam)= a large drum with musical sound.—'Paṇava': prob. spoken form of 'Pṛaṇava'=emitting 'om' sound,—a small drum or cymbal, accompanying singing.—'Bheri' (°a): lit., the fearful kettle-drum (of war music).—'Tūrya': a kind of Tabor "struck rapidly" ('tūram').—

40=43. So also the foundations are to be laid with all the (different) musical instruments of percussion struck up (sounded) [with the roar of the war-drum and the (quick) tabor, and (chorus) songs of many songstresses]; but these are to be excluded (expelled) (from the festivities, or the area):—all inauspicious undesirables (like) members of the heretical monastic orders as well as of the (orthodox) 'āśramas',

41-44. members of orders wearing russet-brown robes (*or* widows clad in russet-brown), and also men of maimed or deformed limbs.—Offerings (of food) are to be made in the night, consisting of various eatables, and

42-45. garnished with flavours (perfumes), flowers and fruits, dedicated to the ten (cardinal) directions (quarters). Thus to the East (the offering is to be) served with white rice, to the South with blue (coloured) rice,

43-46. to the West with yellow (coloured) rice, and to the North with red (coloured) rice. The form in which the presiding deity

44=47. of a quarter is conceived of (or represented), in accordance with that is the offering to be placed therein, preceded by sacred formulae.—At the time of laying the foundations, to the Brāhmaṇas are to be offered clarified butter and milk-cooked.

'Ālodya': musical instruments of percussion.—'Pṛaṇudita': aroused, struck, sounded.
—'Paṭaha' (°i): a kind of kettle-drum,—a war-drum; or a tabor used in proclamations (vern. 'dhāṭrā'); cf. 'paṭa-vādyā', a kind of cymbal; prob. from 'paṭala'—membrane, and 'paṭ' to burst.—'Gāyaṇī-gāyana': songs of professional female singers.

In st. 43:—'Aśramiṇaḥ': the meaning of "followers of 4-fold orthodox life-planning" does not suit here; the plain sense of "ordained members of an 'āśrama' or Vedic monastic university" suits very well;—for an initiated student of such an 'āśrama', the Theatre-Halls of the City would normally be regarded as "out of bounds" (as opposed to the Theatres *within* the 'āśramas': *vide* Sarkār: P. U. Readership lectures (1926) on Anc. Ind. Ednl. Instns.).—'Pāṣaṇḍ(y)āḥ': lit., 'dedicators of stone memorials' ('pāṣa'), i. e., Jaina and Buddhist,—or, 'severers of bonds' ('pāśa'), i. e., members of monastic orders (Jaina, Nirgrantha or Buddhist).—'Kāṣāya-vasanāḥ' (°vāsinyāḥ,—°vāsināḥ): the different var. lec. would refer to either widows or certain monastic orders (of men or of women).

45=48. (rice), likewise to the King honey-'punch', and treacle and rice to the executive (committee of the theatre) [or to the builders (or workmen)].

46=49. The foundation is to be laid by the wise during the Mūlā constellation, with the 'muhūrta', 'karaṇa' and 'tithi' being favourable. Having done the foundation in this way, the work of foundation walls (or plinths) is to be commenced ;

47=50. after the completion of this plinth work, comes the setting up of the pillars, in auspicious conjunction of stars, 'tithi' and 'karaṇa'.

48=51. The setting up of pillars is to be done under the (constellations) Rohiṇī or Śravaṇā, by qualified (well-appointed or fit) professors (of architecture), who have observed fast for 3 nights.

49=52. The setting up of pillars is to be done when the auspicious sunrise has just started. [Sandal is (the wood) for the 'Brāhma(ṇa)' pillars, Catechu for the 'Kṣātra', 'Dhāva' for the 'Vaiśya' description, while 'Śūdra' ones may according to tradition be made of all kinds of timber]. At the 'Brāhmaṇa' pillar, all rites are

50=53. to be performed with every material in white and purified with melting butter and mustard (rye), and milk-cooked rice is to be offered (to Brāhmaṇas). Then at the 'Kṣatriya' pillar, the cloths, garlands and unguents used (or offered) are all

51=54. to be red, and treacle and rice is to be offered to the twice born. At the 'Vaiśya' pillar the rites are to be performed in the

52=55. north-west quarter adjacent, all offerings are to be in yellow, and rice cooked in clarified butter is to be given to the twice-born.

In st. 48:—'Madhu-parka', 'pañca-gavya' and similar Indian drinks are the originals of the European 'mead-punch', 'rum-punch', 'milk-punch', and other "punches" ('5-ingredient' drinks)—'Mūla': the 17th or 19th constellation.

In st. 49:—'Muhūrta': $\frac{1}{5}$ day=48 m. period.—'Karaṇa': one of the 11 astrological divisions of the day.—'Bhitti-karma': trench, foundation, plinth and walls.

In st. 52:—One of the several Mss. gives these particulars about timber for the pillars.

53=56. At the 'Śūdra' pillar the rites are to be performed accurately in the north-east quarter, the offerings are to be mostly in blue, and the food for the twice-born is to be a dish of rice, peas, sesamum and spices.

54=57. Further, at the 'Brāhmaṇa' pillar aforesaid, decked in white wreaths and unguents, gold forming part of an ear (or neck) ornament is to be placed at the bottom (or base or foundation).

55=58. So also copper is to be placed at the pillar designated 'Kṣatriya', and at the base of the 'Vaiśya' pillar is to be offered silver, while at the base of the 'Śūdra' pillar is to be given something made of iron.

56=59. At the base of the last (variety of) pillars [*or*, of the rest of the pillars], gold is also placed [*or*, gold is to be placed over and above (iron)].—With the proclamation (or pronouncement) of welfare (or best wishes) and auspicious (or blessed) day, as well as with shouts (or utterance) of 'victory' (or 'success'), is the foundation

57=60. of pillars to be done, with decoration by flower-wreathes. With gifts of many robes (cloths) along with gifts of cows,

58=61. and with presents of jewels, (as well as) gratifying the Brāhmaṇas, the pillars are then to be set up (raised).

Immoveable and unshakeable, further, unswaying as well,—these have been enumerated as clear merits in the matter of raising pillars.

59=62. It is said that if pillars move (deviate), draught (occurs); if they sway (there is) fear (apprehension) of death (epidemics);

60=63. while if they shake (tremble) there arises serious danger from foreign (sinister) designs (or conclaves of states). Pillars should be raised free from these defects (if they are to be) auspicious.

In st. 56:—'Kṛsara': a composite preparation of rice, 'til', peas and spices; probably the original of 'Khich (u) ri' [mis Sanskritised in modern times as 'Kheca-rāṇna',—it should be 'Kṛsarāṇna'],—which is a mixed dish of rice, various lentils, spices, etc.

In st. 58:—'Āyasam': 'iron' seems intended, though 'ayas' might refer to copper or any metal.

In st. 62:—'Mṛti': 'epidemics', rather than 'death' simply.

In st. 63:—Var. lec.: 'para-cakra' and 'para-rāṣṭra'.

61=64. At the time of laying the foundation of the sacred 'Brāhmaṇa' pillars, cows are to be bestowed as (sacrificial or ritual) fee (on the Brāhmaṇas); at that of the rest (of the pillars), dinners (feasts) are to be given wherein the workmen (architects) are to be invited (associated).

62=65. All that, is to be given purified (or preceded) by (utterance of) sacred texts by an intelligent Professor of the Dramatic Art; and the royal chaplain as well as the king are to be entertained (by him)

63=66. with milk-cooked rice and honey (or sweet wines); so also are the workmen (or executors, builders, or executive committee) to be treated to salted (salt-seasoned) dishes of rice, peas, sesamum and spices.—After performing all these prescribed ceremonies, with all the various instruments of percussion sounded loud (played aloud),

64=67. the pillars are to be raised (set in or heaved to position) by 'purified' persons uttering sacred texts, in accordance with rules, addressed to them (the pillars),—

65=68. (such as), "Firm as is the Mount Meru, and the mighty Himavān, even so be thou firm, embodying (conducive to, proclaiming) victory for our king."

66=69 —The pillared entrances, the walls, and the tiring rooms as well, are similarly to be raised by experts according to procedure as seen (laid down) in the regulations (regulative treatises).

In st. 64:—The classification of pillars after the manner of the 4 'Varṇas' must have had reference to one or other of the following features, or to all of them :—(a) elegant pillars showing symbolic art, (b) strong massive pillars showing martial art, (c) rich and profusely decorated pillars, (d) plain useful pillars,—or, frontal, lateral (on two sides) and hind pillars,—or, pillars (with pedestals, capitals and decorations) raised by subscriptions of the four communities [scholars and priests, officials and soldiers, merchants and farmers, artisans, craftsmen and labour], so that the Theatre-House was a representative popular institution (cf. such representative contributions to Buddhist Congregation Halls, etc.)

In st. 67—68:—This 'mantra' reads like the Vedic coronation 'mantra' uttered to establish a king securely on his throne. It seems the royal ensign was flown on the top of all theatre-houses ('jayāvaho narendrasya').

In st. 69:—'Stambha-dvāram': entrances to the Hall, formed by grouping the pillars.—'Nepathya-grha': 'nepathya' is apparently the colloquial form (later

67=70.—On (either) side of the 'Stage Proper' [lit., the platform for acting or dancing] are to be executed (2) 'Maddened Tuskers', (each) supported jointly by 4 pillars, and proportionate to the measurements of the Stage-platform. The 'Maddened Tuskers' are to be made a cubit and a half in height.

68=71 & 69=72. The Canopy (or Dome) over the Stage-platform should be constructed with a height (or depth) equal to that of the two 'Maddened Tuskers'. Experts place iron (or copper) (strengthening parts, below the pillars concerned here. In that (Canopy or Dome) are to be placed wreathes, burning incense, perfumes, as well as drapery of many colours, and (food) offerings gratifying to the Spirits (or various classes of beings).

70 (70A)=73. Also meals of dishes of rice, peas, sesamum and spices are to be offered at the feast to Brāhmaṇas.

(70B). Thus the 'Maddened Tuskers' are to be made proceeding according to the regulative treatises.

71=74. Thereafter the 'Stage-platform' is to be made by steps as seen (laid down) in the regulative treatises. Thus the 'Frontal Facade' of the 'Stage Proper' is to be made as a composition of six timber structures (or parts, *or* statues) [*or*, 6 nude wooden statues in postures of abandon].

standardised) of an original 'nīvittha'—the place or room for keeping 'nīvi', i. e., skirts, petticoats, 'sāris', etc., and for wearing or changing them; cf. the Vedic phrase 'nīvim kṛ',—to wear 'sāris' etc., artistically.

In st. 70:—'Raṅga-piṭha': 'piṭha'=flat platform; 'raṅga'=acting and dancing; i. e., the stage-floor, the stage proper.—'Matta-vāraṇī': This term has two types of technical meanings, both of which are applicable here:—(1) an architectural fence or railing, round a big mansion, hall or any beautiful central structure,—also called "mattālamba", which apparently means "the support or check of the excited (visitors, audience, or crowd)"; this same sense might also be ascribed to 'matta-vāraṇī',—'barring the encroachment or on rush of the excited crowd (at the pit or galleries)'.—But 'ālamba' and 'vāraṇa' can both be taken to mean 'elephant,' the former referring to the hanging long trunk; in that case the second technical sense (below) would belong to both these terms: viz., (2) Turret, pinnacle or pavillion,—or projecting peg or bracket, attached to pillar or wall,—featuring one or more maddened elephants (a feature also marking woodwork of ancient chariots and bedsteads). As, later on, some 'matta-vāraṇī's are said to rest on pillars, this latter sense seems more suited to the present texts.

In st. 74:—'Raṅga-śīrṣa': The upper part, top, fore-part, or frontal facade, of the stage proper.—'Ṣaḍ-dāruka-samanvitam' (1), *or* var. lec., 'ṣaḍ-dārukam asamvṛta

72=75. Here (on the Stage) also are to be provided a pair of doors (entrances) for the 'Tiring Room'; and here too (for the Stage-platform) 'black earth' [*or*, earth as well as black earth] is to be placed carefully in filling up (for the floor).

73=76. A pair of white-coloured draught-oxen are to be carefully yoked to the plough, and having tilled and turned over the earth, and made it free from brickbats, gravels and grass (roots),

74=77. it is to be carried by perfect-bodied stalwart men [*or*, in new baskets, *or* in new wooden trays]; and the builders and workmen thereof (i. e. of the Stage) should also be fully free from any defects in limb or body.

75=78. In this manner is to be constructed the 'Stage-top' (i. e. the Stage-floor): it should not be made like the back of a tortoise, nor again like that of a fish ;

76=79. that 'Stage-floor' is lauded (approved) which is in configuration like the surface of a perfect mirror. And therein (i. e., on the floor, by way of mosaic) are to be set jewels (precious stones) by experts,—

77=80. on the East side diamonds, on the South 'cat's eyes', on the West side crystals, and on the North corals, while in the Centre it should be gold.

78=81. Having made the Stage-Front as above, (art) wood-work (fittings) are to be attached (thereto) (in the following manner):—so as to allow additions to, or modifications of, the arrangement (of the unit art-pieces), and also their stripping off, covering up, removal or replacement (where and when desired); and this (woodwork) should be executed (produced) by artists of different (specialised, arts (within the general art of woodwork).

79=82. It should be divided into a number of quadrangular pieces (*or* long narrow rectangular panels, like 'road-side sign-posts') [i. e., panels of various sizes, shapes and groupings].

(2):—(1) provided with 6 wooden statuettes,—or framed with 6 timber pieces or parts, i. e., lintels, pillars, etc.; (2) with 6 wooden statuettes, nude, or in postures of abandon. The second reading and sense is better and more suited to context.

'Black earth' is prob. not to be taken in its literal sense, as this is unsafe for floors; burnt rock or 'cement' or 'coal-ash' seems to be intended.

It should be decorated with figures of numerous and vicious animals.

(79b). Along these panels are also to be suitably set various types of carved-wood statues of females and courtesans (in artistic poses and adornment).

(80a). It should include tapering turrets, high helmets with crest ornament, projecting bay-windows and doors, or extended pegs and brackets, as also small, deeply carved circular windows, vents or sky-lights.

(80a&b). It (should include) woodwork seats [i. e., in the galleries and pit of the theatre constructed and joined together in diverse designs and shapes.

81=84. It (should include) various patterns or designs interlinked, and 'bull's eye' windows (or vents) (fitted) with symbolic (or mechanical) devices and lattice work (or net-work, or bead-string curtains). [Or, it (should include) mechanical contrivances (or mystic and sacred symbolic devices), lattice-work (or netting, or stringed beads), fitted to the 'bull's eye' windows (or vents) in various patterns or designs, suitably interlinked]. (Woodwork) crowded with swarms of (carved) doves and bees (or maids-in-waiting, or companion maidens, or girl-friends) (should be) attached to shapely capitals and sustaining or supporting beams or arches [Or, (wood-work consisting of friezes or cornices (should be) attached to the shapely capitals and beams or arches, with a profusion (or crowding)].

82=85. (There should be wood-work) ornamenting (timber, masonry or stone) pillars, their surfaces covered with designs or patterns of inlay or mosaic (e. g., of metal or ivory).—Having worked out the plan of the wood-work as above, the finishing up of the wall-surfaces is to be taken up.

In st. 81 to 85:—'Uha-pratyaha-samyuktam' [dāru-karma]:—Woodwork fittings, fitted ('samyukta') in such manner as to allow "additions to or modifications of the arrangement" ('uha') of the art-pieces, and also their "stripping off, covering up, or removal, or replacement, where and when desired" ('pratyaha');—i. e., the wood-work of the stage and hall was capable of adaptation, according to the subject, occasion, etc., of the performances on the stage, to provide a suitable art background) like the musical back-ground.

'Nānā-śilpa-prayojitam' [dāru-karma]:—executed by artists of different special arts (within the general art of woodwork);—i. e., wood-statuary (sculpture), wood-carving, wood-inlaying (with ivory, metal, etc.), wood lacquering, painting, etc.

'Nānā-saṃjavanô-petaṃ' [dāru-karma]:—divided into a number of 'quadrangles' or 'panels' of various sizes,—or 'groups of panels',—or long rectangular panels, like 'road side sign-posts'.

'Vahu-vyālô-paśobhitam' [dāru-karma]:—decorated with figures of numerous 'vyāla's,—i. e., 'rogue elephants', snakes (dragons), lions, tigers, 'hunting leopards' or other 'vicious animals'. [This might indicate that traditions of Zoomorphic cults were associated with the early stages of the growth of the dramatic art].

'Nirvyūha-kuharô-petaṃ' [dāru-karma]:—'nirvyūha' (lit., 'pushed out')= (1) tapering turrets (in Mbh. and Hariv.); in the present context it might mean wooden models of such, for decoration of the inside of the Hall; (2) helmets, with crest ornament (also a decorative *motif*); (3) a bay window or door, projecting out; (4) a peg or bracket.—'Kuhara'=small, deep, circular windows, vents or skylights (in Var. Br. Sam.); the sense of (3) above in 'nirvyūha' would suit best in view of the meaning of 'Kuhara'.

'Nānā-grathita-vedikam' [dāru-karma]:—Woodwork 'seats' or 'settees', 'constructed in diverse designs and shapes', 'and forming sets' ('grathita' has also the sense of 'linked in a group',—indicating 'family sets' and 'boxes' or 'coupé's); these would be the seats in the galleries and the pit of the Theatre.

'Nānā-vinyāsa-saṃyukta-yantra-jāla gavākṣakaṃ' [dāru-karma]:—'vinyāsa-saṃyukta': 'interlinked' in various 'patterns'.—'Yantra': (1) Symbolic devices, mystic or sacred; (2) mechanically contrived, or fitted with mechanical device, or mechanism or machinery. [If (1), 'yantra' goes with 'jāla'; if (2), it qualifies 'gavākṣa' or window].—'Jāla': lattice-work, or netting, or 'stringing' (hanging beads, etc.)—Gavākṣa(ka):—"bull's eye or eye-let",—apertures or windows so shaped (the shape would be something like a segment with corners stream-lined). [The mechanism in the windows may refer to arrangements for 'wind-catching' (as in ancient Egypt) or 'exhausts' (for cooling), or lighting (by shafts and reflection, etc.). Mechanically worked fans in big halls and bed-rooms are often referred to in Sanskrit Literature.]

'Su-piṭha-dhāraṇī-yuktaṃ' [dāru-karma]:—[This, by itself, can have no meaning here: the correct reading appears to be,—'su-piṭha-dhāraṇī-yukta-kapotāli-samākulam' [dāru-karma],—without a break at 'yukta',—since it is 'dāru-karma' that is being described].—"Crowded with rows of doves", or, "crowded with swarms of (carved) doves and bees('ali')",—or, "with doves and maids-in-waiting, or beves of maids ('āli')";—such woodwork is "attached to goodly capitals and beams or arches" ('supiṭha' and 'dhāraṇī').—If 'kapota' is taken as='friezes' or 'cornices' then the sense is that art woodwork is attached to capitals, beams (or arches), and friezes (or cornices), with a profusion ('samākulam').

'Nānā-kuṭṭīma-vinyastaiḥ stambhaiḥ upaśobhitam' [dāru-karma]:—Woodwork-ornamented-(timber) pillars, with their surfaces covered with designs or patterns of

83=86. No pillar, nor 'tusk'-bracket, nor again window, should be placed at a corner, or with a door against it in front, or obstructed or blocked by a door.

84=87 The Theatre-Hall is to be designed in the form of a rock-cut cave-temple and having two floors (stories); and fitted with moderate (sized) vents for movement of gentle breeze, not letting in gusts of wind, and not producing loud resonance [*or*, capable carrying gentle sounds].

inlay or mosaic (referring apparently to the well-known Indian art of metal, ivory or other inlays in woodwork, and of wood mosaic composed of different coloured wood-bits).—Probably also, even if pillars were of bricks, stucco or stone, a woodwork casing was provided by way of decoration

In st. 86:—'Nāga-danta': a peg in the form of an ornamental elephant's tusk, or a bracket figuring a tusker's head (with two tusks, the trunk, two ears and the skull).

'Vātāyana': for breeze 'to come in and go out'; therefore it would be much larger than "gavākṣa" for 'looking' out or letting in 'light'; the shapes of the two would also naturally be different. From the context here, 'vātāyana' has wooden doors or panels, which might obstruct doorways if badly placed; but 'gavākṣa' is apparently an opening in the walls, with no wooden panels or fittings jutting out beyond the wall-line (and if it had to be closed, this was done by screens or venetians rolled up and let down, or sliding)

'Sa-prati-dvāram': with a door against it to the front.—'Dvāra-viddham': obstructed, blocked, by a door.

In st. 87:—'Śaila-guhā-kārāḥ': with an entrance, wide and 'horse-shoe'-shaped, designed after an (artificial) mountain cave, or the facade of a rock-cut temple,—and following the arrangement of the inner rectangular, pillared, aisled, vaulted, balconied and naved hall of such a Cave-temple or Caitya.—It is clear that the ancient Theatre-Hall looked like the 'Karle Cave' or the 'Ajantā Caves', which also, like the temples in the cities of the plains, must have been used for art and dramatic purposes from time to time. It is known to scholars that the so-called 'Cave temples', specially the 'Ajantā Caves', were parts of Monastic Universities (which were also Art Centres); 'Ajantā' stands for the famous 'Acintya Vihāra' of early and medieval Buddhist (and Tibetan) tradition. Incidentally, this recommendation of the text suggests that in Art and Drama the urban popular institutions followed the lead given by the 'Cave Temple' cultural centres (the successors of the āśramic ones) (or, some of these latter also may have been ancient 'cave temples' later taken up by Buddhism).

'Dvi-bhūmiḥ' (nāṭya-maṇḍapa, stage-pavillion):—Having two floors or storeys; either the stage proper was two-storied, i. e., had a gallery or a balcony above (where interlude music and dance could be presented, or announcements made, leaving the

85a-86b=88a-89b. So that the Stage-music (of bag-pipes, etc.) might develop a depth of sound (tone), for that (object) the builders should construct the Theatre-Hall so as to give no scope for gusts of wind.

85b 86a=88b 89a If the Theatre-Hall is made much too extensive, the speeches (of the actors) uttered with (even proper) voice might acquire unnatural vocal quality owing to the vowels and consonants being imperfectly articulated (expressed).

87=90. Having taken the steps for preparing wall-surfaces, wall-distempers (coatings preparatory to Frescoes) should be applied (laid on); and on its outside [i. e., on the borders of, and intervening spaces between, the prepared grounds] whitewash (or distemper) should be provided with great care.

88=91. Thereafter on the wall-surfaces that have been well-coated (with foundation distempers), brushed and polished all over, made perfectly level, and rendered beautiful, are to be executed works of painting.

89=92. Amongst these works of painting are to be included:—linear drawings, sketches, landscapes, paintings, portraits, scenes,

stage free for rearrangement between drop-scenes),—*or*, there were galleries on 3 sides of the Theatre-Hall, for accommodation of the audience (over and above the upper storey of the stage),—*or*, the stage was on one floor (level), and the inclined (or serrated) floor, whereon the seats were set in rows, was the other floor.

In st. 89:—'Kutapa': stage-music; this technical term may have been derived in three ways:—(1) 'Ku'=stage, 'tapa'=heater, worker-up of enthusiasm or warmth, (2) 'Kuta'=sound, 'tapa'=as above,—warming up by sounds & (3) 'Kutupa' or 'Kutapa'=leathern bottle or bag; hence music of 'bag-pipe' (normal Indian preparatory stage music).

In st. 90:—'Bhitti-karma': construction of wall (surfaces).—'Bhitti-lepa': plastering, painting, washing (colouring) or distempering, or coating (preparing for frescoes, etc.), of wall-surfaces.—'Sudhā-karma': white plastering and white-washing ['Bhitti': lit =that which divides, separates or isolates, i. e., wall, partition].

In st. 91—92:—'Citra-karma': general term for all types of work with colours or lines; within this pictorial art, the four main sections are: (a) 'ālekhyāḥ'. (b) human figures (puruṣāḥ, strī-jaṇāḥ), (c) 'latā-bandhāḥ', and (d) 'ātma-bhogajam caritaṁ'.

'Ālekhyāḥ': this class according to lexicons, includes,—sketches, (2) etchings, (3) linear drawings, (4) paintings, landscapes, (5) art writings, calligraphy, (6) portraits, or scenes or groups, and (7) animals.

'Latā-bandhāḥ':—(1) twined floral and creeper designs or scrolls; (2) amorous embracing figures in different poses.

groups, animal life, art writings and calligraphy; figures of men as well as women-folk, also amorous embracing figures in different poses or intertwined floral and creeper designs and scrolls, and imaginative episodes based on own emotional enjoyment or experience (of the artists).

90=93. The 'Vikrṣṭa' or Extensive type of Theatre-Mansion is to be made in the same manner by builders.—Once again I am giving the characteristics of the Triangular type :

91=94. On all (three) sides 32 cubits, and standing on an auspicious (or beautiful) well laid out plot of land,—(such) should the (Triangular) Theatre-Hall be made by Theatre-experts.

92=95. Those procedures, auspicious rituals and characteristics that have been spoken above, are all without exception to be followed in regard to the 'Vikrṣṭa' (Extensive) and also the 'Tryasra' (Triangular) types.

93=96. Making the "Quadrangular" (type of construction) equal (in angles and opposite sides), and dividing (in sections) with the help of the measuring chain, all along the exterior the wall-surface is to be made firm by bricks closely joined by binding mixture (or cement).

94=97. Then in the interior (of the Hall), the builders should make ten pillars set on the stage-platform, capable of upholding the Canopy (or Dome) (over the stage-platform).

95=98. Away from these pillars are to be made the restful seats of the audience (spectators), with bricks and woodwork, the seat-blocks looking like steps (rising one behind and above the other) [*or*, like a stair-case] [*or*, with the back-rests appearing like steps (rising behind)].

'Caritam ātma-bhogajam':—episodes (imaginary) based on own enjoyment or experience (of the artists).

In st. 93:—The text has 'caturasra' wrongly here (for 'tryasra').

In st. 95:—Here, too, the text has 'caturasra', wrongly.

In st. 96:—'Śliṣṭeṣṭakā' (bhitti):—wall of closely joined or cemented bricks (laid in some 'binding',—'śliṣ'—mixture).

In st. 98:—'Prekṣakāṇām niveśanam': 'niviś' has the sense of 'restful'; restful seats for spectators or audience.

96=99. The arrangement of the seats is to be so made as to make the stage-platform visible from all of them, and the seats should rise from the standing level at their foot by a height of one cubit.

97=100. Then again, in between (the aforesaid 10 pillars), are to be set up six other pillars, in the order of the directions, strong enough to support the pavilion (dome), by the experts following the regulations.

98=101. On top of them again eight more pillars are to be designed; and then on these should be rested an eight-cubit (12-foot) (broad) frieze, with surface perforated in trellice-work [*or*, studded with seats (pedestals), *or* studded (pierced) with medallions of 'busts'].

99=102. In the above (arrangement) the pillars are provided for by experts for the purpose of supporting the (stage-)pavilion (*or* Canopy); they uphold the arches (cupola, dome *or* vault) as well; and they are to be decorated (beautified) by carved-wood statues of females *or* courtesans.

100=103. The tiring and toilet chamber is then to be made with great care, and there is to be only one door to it for entrance into the stage-platform.

101=104. Opposite to it should be made another (door), for the entrance (to the stage-platform) of the 'troupe' (of actors and actresses), and a second door should be also made facing the theatre (hall).

In st. 101:—'Viddhāsyam pīṭham':—Platform, *or* panel, *or* frieze, whose 'face' (surface) is 'perforated' (i. e., of trellice work); *or*, whose surface is studded ('viddha') with seats ('āsyā'),—*or*, platform whose fringe *or* edge is studded with medallions of 'busts' ('āsyā').

In st. 102:—'Dhāraṇi-dhāraṇāḥ' (stambhāḥ): 'dhāraṇi' is probably a popular wrong reading for 'dhoranī'=arch; 'dhāraṇi'=a row, line, upholding ('dhr') something,—i. e., an arch, *or* lintel; 'dhāraṇi' also—a female breast, *or* a bulging bulb; hence it also means a cupola, *or* dome, *or* vault, shaped like them.—'Dhāraṇāḥ': holding, bearing, supporting (as props).

'Sāla-strī' (for 'alamkāra'):—'Sālatūki' and 'Sāla-bhaṇjī' ('o-ikā')=carved wood statues of females *or* courtesans,—evidently in artistic poses and fully bedecked. [An alternate meaning of 'sāla-bhaṇjika' is 'a courtesan'].

102=105. The stage-platform is to be made eight cubits by measure, rectangular (or square), even (level, plain) in surface, and beautified by (attaching) a (projecting) roofed balcony shaped like a narrow-waisted altar.

103=106. On either side of this balcony are to be set up, on four pillars conjoined, turrets featuring maddened elephants, as defined (directed) by measurements given before.

104=1. 7. The frontal facade of the Stage is to be made fairly high (comparatively higher than) yet proportionate (to the extent of the stage-platform). In the Extensive type, however, it is to be made very lofty, while in the Quadrangular type it is to be moderate (or proportionate to the size of the stage).

105=108. Thus in the above manner is the Quadrangular (type of) (Theatre-) House to be constructed. Now after this I shall narrate in detail the features of the Triangular (type of) (Theatre-)House.

106=109. The three-sided and three-cornered Theatre-Mansion is to be made by builders (in such manner that) in the middle (of the side taken as the base) its stage-platform as well is made triangular.

107=110. The (entrance) door of this (type of) (Theatre-)Mansion should be made at that same corner (which lies opposite the triangular stage-platform); and a second (entrance) is also to be made at the back of the Stage-platform.

108=111. Whatever procedures (are laid down) on the subject of walls and pillars in the case of the Quadrangular Type, all of that is to be followed by builders in the case of the Triangular type as well.

In st. 105:—'Vedikā'. altar, narrow in the middle, or a table of that shape.—Technically, a type of roofed verandah, or balcony, or pavillion, attached to a court-yard, or platform, or roof,—shaped like a narrow-waisted altar,—and prepared for weddings, festivities, etc.; 'vedikā' also means simply a bench, a seat, a base or pedestal.

In st. 106:—'Samāyukta': supported jointly by.

In st. 107:—'Tūnnatam': wrong for 'atyunnatam',—very lofty ('raṅga-śīrṣam' in 'Vikṛṣṭa' Halls, 108 cubit or 162' long).—'Samunnatam samam caiva': 'arched or vaulted' and 'equal in height' (to 'aṣṭa-hasta raṅga-pīṭha');—or, 'lofty-arched, or of same height as' [i. e., either 12' high or higher].

109=112. In such aforesaid manner should wise men build Theatre-houses. Now again I shall describe in detail, according to regulations, the worship and ritual concerned with these (Theatre-houses), as follows.

So far, the Second Chapter, named " Construction of Theatre-Halls ", in the " Treatise on the Dramatic Art by Śrī-Bharata ".

In the colophon :—'Māṇḍapa, lit., a place which is bedecked and adorned, or upholstered (with clothes, etc.), or decorated (by art),—and where there is glorification, extolling, rejoicing or exhilaration.—An *open hall* for *festive* or *recreative* purposes ; pavillion ; temple ; arbour or bower.

SOME ASPECTS OF RĀMĀNUJA'S PHILOSOPHY ON THE
BASIS OF HIS COMMENTARY ON THE
BHAGAVADGĪTĀ :

By DR ISVARA DATTA, PH. D.

The term Viśiṣṭādvaita:

Before entering into the discussion of philosophy proper, it seems desirable to clarify the exact denotation of the term 'Viśiṣṭādvaita', under which the philosophy of Rāmānuja, the great Indian scholastic of the twelfth century, goes. Two interpretations of this term have been hitherto known to us. According to the first, which is more common and has been held by scholars like Monier Williams, Thibaut, Wilson, Radhakrishnan and some others, it means 'qualified non-duality'. According to the second, the term means 'non-duality of Brahman who is qualified by individual souls and the inanimate world'. We may give in this connection an English rendering of a few lines from Śankara Śāstrin's preface to Rāmānuja's commentary on the Bhagavadgīta (Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, 1923, P. 14):—

" Non-duality of the qualified (Viśiṣṭasyādvaitam) is the meaning of viśiṣṭādvaita. The doctrine of Rāmānuja is called viśiṣṭādvaita, because it declares that Brahman, qualified by all besides Him, viz., the intelligent and the non-intelligent (world), constitutes but one entity. Thus it is taught in the Nyāyasiddhāntajñāna (by Veṅkaṭanātha) Brahman is but one entity which has all viz., the intelligent and the non-intelligent (world), for its modes (prakāras); because according to his (Rāmānuja's) doctrine which holds both the expansion of the intelligent and the non-intelligent (world) as well as Brahman to be real (Satya), the relation between the two is held to be that of the body and the embodied soul (respectively); and as in common usage the body and the soul though quite different from each other, of a man named Caitra (for example) are both designated by his name as one person, so also here Brahman who is qualified by a body consisting of the intelligent and the non-intelligent (world), is spoken of as one being, and yet the consti-

tuentis are all different in their nature. Thus it is declared: although the modes (prakāras) and their subject (Prakārin) as well as the modes among themselves are (all) different from each other, nevertheless in their collective sense, they are referred to as one entity, and the existence of any other entity than it is denied."

This view of Venkaṭanātha was already held by the author of the Vedāntatattvasāra, viz., Sudarśanasūri, with which the explanation of Ghāte in his 'Le Vedānta', Intro. p. XXXI, viz.. 'non-dualité de l' esprit suprême qualifié par les âmes individuelles et le monde inanimé' is in full agreement.

While the first interpretation seeks to qualify non-duality by plurality, the second qualifies Brahman by the elements of plurality, viz., the intelligent souls and the non-intelligent world. In the first case, it is the plurality qualifying non-duality that is emphasized while in the second the non-duality of the all embracing Brahman receives the emphasis. In our opinion it is the second interpretation that represents the essence of Rāmānuja's philosophy whereas the first gives one the impression that the doctrine of Rāmānuja involves self-contradiction which is not a fact. An individual is equal to body—gross and subtle—plus soul. Now, Caitra's body and soul, to use the example of the author of the Nyāyasiddhāñjana, are two absolutely different entities and yet they make up but one person, so is the case with Brahman and the rest. As a whole, the all-embracing Brahman is one being, but as parts, He admits of three different entities all of which enjoy their own individual and real existence. To put it in technical language, out of the three kinds of difference (bheda), viz., the Sajātiya (*i. e.*, the one subsisting between two members of the same class), the Vijātiya (*i. e.* that between members of two different classes) and the sva-gata (*i. e.* internal or that subsisting within one's own body),—He is free only from the first two, but not from the third so far as the position of Rāmānuja is concerned. He compares the all-embracing Brahman to 'a variegated piece of cloth' woven out 'of white, black and red threads'* the distinctive colours of which can clearly be marked out in the different parts of the fabric where their respective threads lie.

*Comm. on Gītā XIII- 2-

In contrast with the 'Viśiṣṭādvaita' of Rāmānuja, the doctrine of Śaṅkara is called 'advaita' or 'non-duality' of Brahman and the rest which amounts to absolute monism, the rest being unreal according to him. Whatever is, is in reality one : all that which appears in plurality is illusory.

Conception of Māyā

The conception of Māyā forms the root of disagreement between the two rival systems of philosophy, that is, those of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja. In order to get a true perspective of the position of Rāmānuja, his rival's position may first be stated in short.

According to Śaṅkara, Māyā is the principle of illusion. Just as a magician is enabled by his incomprehensible magic power to produce illusory appearances, so is Brahman, associated with the power of Māyā, enabled to project the appearance of this diverse world. Accordingly this visible world is no more real than a product of magic for the simple reason that it is the offspring of the principle of illusion, Māyā.

Now, this power of Māyā cannot be said 'being' (sat)='real', because it is illusory ; but it cannot be called 'non-being' (asat) either; because it gives rise to the appearance of the world which continues at least so long as its appearance is not sublated by the right knowledge (vidyā) that the only real being is Brahman and the rest is false. In contrast with this right knowledge, the said principle of illusion is called 'ignorance' (avidyā).

Thus Māyā is neither 'being' nor 'non-being'. It is an indeterminate material cause of the universe. Equipped with this illusory power, Brahman is called more appropriately 'īśvara', the Lord. Under the guidance of Him, Māyā modifies itself into all the individual existences distinguished by their special names and forms. It gathers itself into bodies sentient and insentient. The sentient ones being called the individual souls and the insentient ones the inanimate world. Thus the originally one all-pervading being of Brahman happens to appear as interspersed through these various bodies which are the product of Māyā. Just as the one all-pervading space interspersed through various objects, *e. g.* a pitcher, a tumbler, a house and so on, happens to be called the space of the pitcher, the space of the

tumbler, the space of the house, and so on, so it is with Brahman. It is He alone who through *Māyā* or *avidyā* appears to be divided into numerous individual souls, their bodies circumscribing the One unlimited Being. These several bodies are called 'Upādhis' or the limiting adjuncts. Now, as several pitchers broken by a blow of a mallet, cease to appear in their individual forms and are assimilated into the all-pervading space, so do the individual souls lose their individual differences and merge into the all-pervading Brahman as soon as they recognize their identity with the latter and dismiss thereby their inborn *avidyā*.

The reason that led Śaṅkara to the above described view of *Māyā* consists in the fact that the Upaniṣads contain texts, not inconsiderable in number, which make evidently contradictory statements. There are some passages which speak of the identity of the intelligent world with the Supreme Soul, but there are other passages which declare them to be entities different from Him. Now, Śaṅkara taking such texts as refer to their identity with the Supreme Soul, to constitute the real teaching of the Upaniṣads felt the need of a means whereby to account for the contradiction resulting from the contrary texts teaching their difference, and found it in the conception of *Māyā* noted above according to which the apparent world with all its multiplicity is reduced to a mere falsehood. This fictitious world as well as all our ordinary experience that is based on it is termed by Śaṅkara 'the phenomenal or empirical world' (*vyavahāra*). Now those texts which contradict the said identity are alleged by him to teach from the standpoint of practical truth, assuming for the moment the reality of the phenomenal world. But for Rāmānuja, who found his remedy for reconciling the two kinds of statements of the Upaniṣads in establishing the relation of soul and body respectively between Brahman on the one hand and the intelligent and the non-intelligent world on the other, it was not necessary to conceive *Māyā* in the way that Śaṅkara did.

According to him *Māyā* is not the principle of illusion, a thing unreal (*asat*), but one which is as real as Brahman Himself. To him it is but another name of *Prakṛti*. Commenting on *Gītā*, VII. 14., he writes :—

“ Because this *Māyā* of Mine, made of the qualities (*guṇamayī*) *i. e.*, made of *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tāmas*, is divine, *i. e.*, created by

the Deity, *i. e.*, by myself while engaged in play ; therefore, (it is) hard to surmount *i. e.*, hard to overcome, for all. Because it works wonders, therefore it is called by the word *Māyā* as are the missiles and so on of fiends and demons in passages such as the following :—

‘Then the best disc named *Sudarśana* came up (there, all) wrapped in flames for his protection. Moving swiftly, it reduced that thousandfold *Māyā* of *Śambara* to pieces while protecting the body of the child.’

Therefore, the word *Māyā* (here) does not signify an illusory object (*mithyārtha*). Even in connection with a juggler and the like, use is made of the word *Māyāvin* (a sorcerer) inasmuch as he creates by certain means, *e. g.*, enchantment, medicine and the like, a notion which, though having for its object a false appearance, is nevertheless real in itself. Moreover it is the enchantment, medicines and the like that go by the name of *Māyā* there. For, there must be only one meaning of a word accompanying all (such) uses. Now, the use of the word *Māyā* with reference to false appearances is figurative like the expression ‘the watch-stands are shouting’ inasmuch as they (*i. e.* the false appearances) form the objects of notions which are caused by *Māyā* (*i. e.*, real objects, *e. g.*, enchantment, medicines and so on). It is this real (*Pāramāthikī*) *Māyā* of the Lord made of the (three) qualities that is in fact spoken of in passages like the following :—

‘Know then that *Prakṛti* is *Māyā*, and that the great Lord is the *Māyin* (Possessor of *Māyā*).’ *Śvet. U. 4. 10.* ”

The following facts emerge out of the above quotation from *Rāmānuja* :

- (a) He takes *Māyā* as a synonym for *Prakṛti* which he calls ‘*Pāramāthikī*’, a real entity.
- (b) The *Gīta*, too, refers to *Prakṛti* by the word *Māyā* inasmuch as it qualifies ‘*Māyā*’ by the word ‘*guṇamayī*’, *i. e.* ‘made of the qualities.’
- (c) The passage quoted from the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* also supports his view.

- (d) Prakṛti is called 'Māyā, as he explains, not because it is illusory, but because it brings about wonderful results like the missiles of fiends and demons.
- (e) The missiles of fiends etc., which are real objects, are also called in Sanskrit literature by the word Māyā.
- (f) The word Māyā in its derivative 'Māyāvin', a sorcerer, denotes in fact the latter's enchantment, medicines and the like all of which are real things by means of which he produces false appearances ; for, in all these instances there can be assigned only one meaning to it.
- (g) Although appearances such as those of fire and the like which a Māyāvin manages to produce through his art are unreal, nevertheless the notions of fire and so on which are only reproduced by him in the minds of the spectators are in themselves real.
- (h) Thus the primary sense of the word 'Māyā' being 'a thing working wonders', its use for a false appearance can be regarded only as secondary like the expression 'the watch-stands are shouting.

That the word Māyā used in Gīta, VII. 14, and qualified by the word 'guṇamayī, refers to Prakṛti is unquestionable ; because the preceding verses, to which the word 'guṇamayī' of Gītā, VII, 14 alludes, speak explicitly of entities made of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas, the three qualities of Prakṛti. The word Māyā occurs once more in Gītā, XVIII. 61, where, too, Rāmānuja explains it in the like manner as being identical with Prakṛti. He recalls this fact to our mind again in his commentary on Gītā, XIII. 2 and IX. 10 by quoting the passage from Śvet. U., 4. 10 referred to above, and the one from Śvet U. 4. 9.

Interpretation of 'sat' and 'asat':

There is no controversy as regards the literal meanings of the attributives 'sat' and 'asat' which are respectively 'existing and non-existing.' Their connotations, however, with reference to the universal soul and the universe vary in accordance with one's conception of Māyā. Thus Śaṅkara's interpretation of them, viz., 'real' and 'unreal' respectively, is fully consistent with his idea of Māyā. Likewise,

there being nothing like the principle of illusion with Rāmānuja, he interprets them as 'indestructible' and 'destructible' respectively which is quite in conformity with the nature of his Māyā. Commenting on Gītā, II, 16, he writes :—

“ There is no existence of the non-existing body ; nor is there a non-existence of the existing soul. The character of the body which is a non-existing object is but non-existence. The character of the intelligent soul is but existence. Non-existence (asattva) consists verily in the nature of being destroyed (vināśa-svabhāva). Existence (sattva) consists in the nature of being not destroyed (avināśa-svabhāva). Likewise it is declared by venerable Parāśara in Viṣṇu. Pu. II. 12.43, 45; II. 14.24; and II. 13.96.

Here, too, it is taught as follows :—

“ These bodies are said to be perishable ”. (Gītā II. 18);

“ Know that to be indestructible ”. (Gītā II. 17).

It is for this reason, as we understand, that 'existence' (sattva) and non-existence' (asattva) have been spoken of here. To one who is deluded by ignorance regarding the nature of the body and the soul, it is the distinct nature of each which consists in being respectively perishable and imperishable, that is to be taught in order to alleviate his delusion. The same topic has been introduced in the words “ Learned men grieve neither for the living nor for the dead.” (at Gītā, II, 11) and is afterwards substantiated by the words “know that to be indestructible ” (at Gītā, II, 17) and “ these bodies are said to be perishable.” (II, 18).

Brahman.

According to Śaṅkara, there exists in reality only one being called Brahman. He is of an absolutely homogeneous nature. That which is apparently heterogeneous is not real. He is pure 'being' (sattva) which is identical with and inseparable from 'intelligence' (bodha) as Śaṅkara is compelled to admit in his commentary on Vedāntasū., 3.2.21. This intelligence or pure thought is not to be predicated of Brahman as His attribute, but it constitutes His very self. He is not one who thinks, but is thought itself. He is 'nirguṇa' or devoid of all conceivable attributes, “ a homogeneous mass of objectless thought transcending all attributes.” in the words of Thibaut. He is thought from within and thought from without like a mass of

salt which is nothing but salt from all sides. He is no personality. A personality He becomes only when He is associated with Māyā, the principle of illusion. From Him, equipped with this power, emanates this world of which He constitutes the efficient as well as the material cause. In this aspect of Him, Brahman is called Īśvara or the Lord. This form of Brahman may be called Śaṅkara's personal God Who is, nevertheless, unreal inasmuch as He is an offspring of Māyā which itself is unreal. The all-pervading universal being of Brahman, broken and brought into limitations by the individualizing multitude of bodies wrought by Māyā, constitutes Jīvas or the individual souls of Śaṅkara which are as unreal as Īśvara.

According to Rāmānuja, however, Brahman is not an absolutely homogeneous entity, but one which comprises different elements of plurality, viz., the Jīvas and Prakṛti, all of which constitute His nature. Thus according to him also all that is, is Brahman; but, at the same time, this all-embracing entity of Brahman does truly manifest itself into the diversified world, the individual souls and Prakṛti forming its body and Brahman its soul.

In this way, Brahman is not mere intelligence as held by Śaṅkara, but He whose intelligence constitutes an essential and characteristic quality. This feature equally belongs to the individual soul. The author of the Sarvadarśanasamgraha illustrates this phenomenon by the examples of a gem and the sun which appear at first sight to be nothing but brilliance which in fact, however, constitutes only their characteristic quality. Rāmānuja, too commenting on Gītā, XIII. 2, does refer to this fact though succinctly in the following words :—

“The doctrine that Brahman is the embodiment of knowledge (=intelligence), too, is quite explicable by accepting that the nature of the Supreme Brahman Who is the treasure of all auspicious attributes opposed to those which are inauspicious (heya),—can be defined only by knowledge (=intelligence) inasmuch as He is self-luminous (Svaprakāśa, like the sun).”

Here, while admitting Brahman to be the treasure of all conceivable auspicious qualities, Rāmānuja singles out from amongst them intelligence (jñāna) as that characteristic quality by which we can define His nature. In the following passage, however, he adds bliss (ānanda) to intelligence:—

"Now, Nārāyaṇa, the Highest Puruṣa, who is the Supreme Brahman, the Lord of Śrī, opposed to all that is inauspicious (heya), the focus of what is auspicious (Kalyāṇa), whose nature consists solely of infinite knowledge (=intelligence) and bliss, the ocean of a host of innumerable noble qualities which are natural, superb and infinite " (Comm. on the Gītā, pp. 3-5, Ānandāśrama Press, 1923.)

Thus Rāmānuja's Brahman is not attributeless, but on the contrary endowed with all conceivable noble attributes though devoid of all those that are ignoble. He is a being, a personality and an essentially personal God. He is no abstract noun so to say, a position which Śaṅkara's Brahman appears to be reduced to. With Rāmānuja Brahman is identical with Nārāyaṇa, Paramātmā, Kṛṣṇa, Īśvara and so on, and there exists no such distinction between Brahman and Īśvara as consists according to Śaṅkara in their being higher and lower or nirguṇa (devoid of attributes) and saguṇa (endowed with attributes) respectively.

Jīva.

Jīva or the individual soul of Śaṅkara is identical with Brahman, because it is nothing more than Brahman. Himself having come into the Upādhis or limiting adjuncts of the several material bodies and the inner organs into which Māyā has specialized itself. But Rāmānuja's Jīva to the contrary is really an individual soul. He has, of course, sprung up from Brahman who is the eternal repository of all besides Him. Nevertheless, he has enjoyed from all eternity an individual existence of his own, and will continue to be an individual soul for ever. He was never Brahman and will never become Brahman. He is, since a time without beginning, associated with ignorance which, translates itself into action (Karma). Owing he is implicated in Saṁsāra, the eternal cycle of birth, action and death. According to Śaṅkara, ignorance consists in the notion that Jīva is distinct from Brahman, which, according to Rāmānuja, consists in a false conception of the soul, viz. that it is identical with the non-soul, irrespective of whether the latter is the body or anything else

Plurality of the Jīvas.

According to Śaṅkara, the Jīva's apparent state of individual existence being the result of Māyā, his appearance in plurality

becomes automatically illusory. But with Rāmānuja that is not the case. As all the Jīvas are real, therefore, their plurality, too, must needs be real. Accordingly, when in the Gītā text a word referring to them occurs in the plural number, he calls our special attention to this fact *e. g.*, in his commentary on V. 16. Commenting on II. 12, in particular, he holds a fairly exhaustive discussion on this subject. Some of his most interesting lines in refutation of a monist's position are as follows :—

“ Now, at first hear about the nature of souls (ātmanām—plural). As to myself, the Lord of all, it is not true that I did not exist in the time without beginning prior to the present, but, on the contrary, I did exist. It is not true either that these, *i. e.*, the individual souls (Kṣetrajñāḥ)—governed (by me)—*viz.* you and the rest—did not exist, but, on the contrary, they did exist. Nor is it true that I and you—all of us—will cease to exist hereafter *i. e.* in the time posterior to this, but on the contrary we shall exist. Just as there can be no doubt that I, the Lord of all and the Supreme Soul (Paramātmān), am eternal (Nitya), so should also you—the individual souls (Kṣetrajñāḥ) be considered eternal indeed.

Thus it is obvious that the Lord Himself has declared that the difference of the (individual) souls (in general—‘ātmanām’) from Himself, the Ruler of all, as well as that of the (individual) souls (themselves) from one another, is real. For, the expressions ‘I’ ‘you’ ‘these’, and ‘all of us’ employed to (instruct) one who was deluded by ignorance in order to dispel it, are used at a time which is meant for teaching a real entity. Because, as regards the theory of the apparent difference of souls (ātmanām—plural) being the effect of Upādhi, mention of such a difference at the time of teaching reality does not suit the occasion inasmuch as the difference of souls (as this theory holds) is unreal. Therefore, the difference of souls taught by the Lord is inherent in their nature. Hence, the Śruti, too, declares: ‘He who is one, intelligent and eternal fulfils the desires of the many intelligent eternal beings.’ (Śvet. U. VI. 18).’

Here a monist may argue: Well, it is from ignorance that the notion of the difference of souls arises.

To this Rāmānuja replies as follows :—

“ Now, as regards the assertion that the notion of the difference (of souls) is (not real, but) caused by ignorance, such a notion of difference on the one hand, and, on the other hand, practices such as teaching and so on that are based upon it, are inconsistent in the Supreme Puruṣa who perceives (always) absolute reality (Paramārthattatva); because He is free from ignorance and the effects thereof by reason of perception of the real nature of the soul which is free from (all) differences, unchangeable, eternal and intelligent. On (accepting) the position that the Supreme Puruṣa also is ignorant, the words of the Supreme Puruṣa cannot constitute a teaching to Arjuna; because they are (then) in no way different from his own words inasmuch as they convey a wrong notion caused by ignorance ”. Here a monist may say that, on the part of the Supreme Puruṣa, the perception of difference which He assumes for the sake of teaching, is not real, but a semblance thereof like a burnt piece of cloth which even after being reduced to ashes continues to appear like cloth.

In reply to this, Rāmānuja urges that a semblance of the knowledge of difference as such cannot effect anything, therefore, it cannot lead the Supreme Puruṣa to engage in teaching. “ For, the (false) notion of water ”, he continues, “ in the mirage and so on, though recurring after it has been (once) repelled, never leads one to engage in the act of fetching water and so on.”

Nor can it be argued that the Supreme Puruṣa was originally ignorant and that this is a recurrence of the notion of difference in Him which had once been repelled by true knowledge. For, it contradicts the Śrutis declaring Him to be omniscient. Even if the recurrence of ignorance were possible in the Lord and the modern institution of teachers, “ it ought to be explained who it really is ” questions Rāmānuja, “ whom the Supreme Puruṣa as well as the modern institution of teachers teaches about the soul which, according to His ascertainment regarding its nature, is without a second. If that be the answer,” he continues, “ viz., Arjuna and so on who appear like the reflections (pratibimbās) of the Lord, it does not hold good. For, no body who is not insane teaches anything to his own reflections appearing in a crystal, a sword, a mirror and so on, knowing that they are in no way different from himself.

Recurrence of the repelled (notion of difference), too, cannot be maintained by the opponent; for, ignorance and the like which forms the cause of the notion of difference of (all) that is other than the soul, has been annihilated by the knowledge of the soul that is without a second, which repels the former (i.e the notion of difference).

Of course in the case of the perception of two moons (due to defective eyesight) and so on, recurrence of the notion of two moons which has been (once) repelled is reasonable in so far as purblindness and similar defects (of sight) which are real and form the cause of the perception of two moons are not destroyed by the knowledge of the oneness of the moon. Even recurring, it is without any effect, because it is refuted by (other) stronger proofs of knowledge. But here (viz, in the case of the soul) the recurrence of the repelled notion of difference is in no way possible; for, together with its cause and object, it has been destroyed by the true knowledge of the soul that it is without a second inasmuch as all of them (viz. the notion of difference, its cause and object) are non-entities by reason of their being unreal".

Consequently acts such as teaching and the like on the part of the Lord, the modern institution of teachers, and so on are not possible; because if they possess a true knowledge of the soul, then they cannot have a notion of difference; and if they do not possess it, then, being themselves ignorant, they cannot teach the truth about the soul.

Moreover, teaching on the part of the teacher has no use; for, the knowledge of difference between Brahman and the soul together with its effect viz. the world of duality such as consists in the relationship of the teacher and the pupil has been destroyed by the monistic knowledge of the teacher in the same way as the duality existing between persons seen in a dream and the dreamer disappears as soon as the latter becomes conscious that the persons dreamt of were no real persons different from himself.

Here a monist may say that the rôle of the teacher and his cognition of the phenomenal world are both fictitious (Kalpita), upheld merely in the interest of teaching.

As a reply to this, Rāmanuja rejoins :—

"Even then (his teaching) cannot remove (the ignorance of the pupil), because the pupil and his cognition, too, are equally fictitious. If it be urged that, although (the cognition of the pupil) is equally fictitious, nevertheless (his ignorance) is removed inasmuch as his cognition is of contrary nature to that of the former, then this, too, equally holds good with regard to the cognition of the teacher. Thus the (cognition of the pupil) himself comes to be the dispeller (of his teacher's cognition). Hence the uselessness of teaching."

We find this discussion in brief again in his commentary on XIII. 2.

Prakṛti.

According to both Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, Prakṛti is the material cause of the universe; but as it is a non-intelligent (acit) entity, therefore, it cannot work independently. It functions under the control of the Lord, and forms the material cause of the universe only in dependence on Him. Thus its character of constituting the material cause of the universe lends itself to being attributed by Śaṅkara to Him. With Rāmānuja, however, there is a more substantial ground for holding the Lord to be as much the material cause of the universe as its efficient cause, viz., that Prakṛti constitutes His body. In this way what is created out of it may rightly be considered created out of the Lord Himself.

Again according to both, Prakṛti is identical with Māyā. However, according to the conception of Śaṅkara, Māyā is a principle of illusion as already described above. Therefore, his Prakṛti, too, cannot but have the complexion of illusion whereas Rāmānuja's Prakṛti is absolutely free from it.

Distinctive marks

of

Brahman, Jivas and Prakṛti.

The position of Rāmānuja may be described as follows :—

Prakṛti is distinguished from Brahman and Jivas in the first place, by its being a non-intelligent entity while the latter are intelligent entities; and in the second place, by being ruled as against the ruler. It is ruled by both Jivas, who are associated with it, and

the Lord who is the ruler of all. In the third place it is distinguished by being perishable while Brahman and Jivas are imperishable. Perishability consists in undergoing transformation.

As regards Jivas, they are divided into two classes, viz., the Jivas-in-bondage and the Jivas-liberated. The former are, by reason of their being implicated in Saṁsāra, subject to birth, death and similar accidents happening to the bodies in which they dwell, while the latter meet neither birth nor death nor the rest. Then, embodied as they are, the Jivas-in-bondage are finite both in form and knowledge, while the liberated Jivas are of infinite form and knowledge as we learn from the following quotations from Rāmānuja :—

“Or the word ‘dhāman’ signifies light; and light here means knowledge, i. e. the soul in its liberated state by reason of its having the character of infinite knowledge, constitutes the light (dhāman) superior to that which is connected with Prakṛti and which is characterized by finite knowledge.”

Comm. on Gitā, VIII. 21, pp. 158-159 of our trans. 1st. ed.

“‘Brahman’ i.e., possessed of the quality of vastness (bṛhattva), that is, the Kṣetrajña who forms an entity separate from the body, and who in himself cannot be circumscribed by the body, etc., for the Sruti declares: And yet it is to be infinite (ananta), Śvet. U., 5.9. Now, as regards his being circumscribed by the body, it is brought about by action; otherwise he is infinite when freed from the bond of action.”

Op. cit. XIII. 12, pp. 257-258

“He is not born again, i. e., is not connected again with Prakṛti. The meaning is that he attains the soul which is characterized by infinite knowledge with (all) its sins destroyed, at the time of the end of that body.”

Op. cit. XIII. 23, p. 266.

Now, as to the difference between the Jivas liberated and Brahman, it consists firstly in the fact that the ruling of the universe, in general, and its emanation, sustenance and retraction, in particular, which are the characteristic operations of the Lord, are not open to them, and secondly in that freedom from birth (ajātva) on the part of the liberated souls does not begin until they

have attained Emancipation, while in the Lord it is inherent by nature. Otherwise they share all lordly qualities of the Lord. As regards the first point of difference, the following lines of Rāmanuja may be cited in support :—

"On hearing thus of the supernatural power ('yoga' of the Lord) consisting in the hosts of (His) noble qualities, which is heterogeneous (visajātiya) to all else, uncommon (asādhāraṇa) in the Lord . . . , as also the expansion of His Lordly power"

Op. Cit., X. 11, p. 190.

" it is the quality of (His) being the Creator, the Protector, and the Destroyer of all that has been indicated by the word supernatural power ('Yoga' in Gita, X. 7)."

Op. cit. X. 19, p. 195.

"But this Great Lord of the world is heterogeneous to all that is ruled by (Him), viz., the unintelligent (entity) whether in the state of cause or effect, and the intelligent (one) bound or liberated... by virtue of (His) nature consisting only in controlling ('niyamana' as against being controlled)."

Op. cit. X. 3, p. 186.

In the first extract cited above, the supernatural power (Yoga) of the Lord has been called heterogeneous to all else (sakaletara-visajātiya) and uncommon (asādhāraṇa) in Him. The second extract purports to say that the meaning of the word 'supernatural power' (Yoga) here consists specifically in the Lord's quality of being the Creator, the Protector, and the Destroyer of all. The third declares the Great Lord in unequivocal terms to be heterogeneous to all that is ruled by Him, including even the liberated souls.

In support of the second point of difference between the liberated souls and Brahman may be cited the following lines:—

"By the word 'beginningless' (anādi) has been declared (the Lord's) heterogeneous nature to the unborn liberated soul which has a beginning. For, the unboriness (freedom from birth 'ajatva') of the liberated soul has a beginning."

Op. cit. X. 3, p. 185.

As to the difference between the Lord on the one hand and Jivas and Prakṛti on the other, it consists in the fact that the former is the Ruler of both while the latter are the ruled.

Now, the position of Śaṅkara in contrast with that of Rāmānuja will seem very simple. According to him Prakṛti being an illusory or unreal entity, the differences pointed out above are tenable only from the standpoint of the phenomenal, and not the absolute, reality. Thus Śaṅkara's view resolves itself into monism while the characteristic marks of Rāmānuja's Brahman, Jivas and Prakṛti, which enable each one of them to claim a real individuality of his or its own, result in pluralism.

Mokṣa.

Mokṣa or emancipation according to Śaṅkara means liberation of the individual soul from saṃsāra on the one hand, and its becoming Brahman on the other. Now, though with Rāmānuja also emancipation means release from saṃsāra and becoming Brahman (Brahma-*phāva*); nevertheless, the latter according to him does not mean getting actually absorbed into the Being of Brahman, but, acquiring equality with Him or participation in His glorious qualities and powers except those mentioned above as distinguishing Him from the liberated souls. The attainment of equality with, or the state of Brahman, refers particularly to two things in regard to the individual soul besides its release from saṃsāra, viz. infinite knowledge and size.

The following are some of the most telling lines from Rāmānuja explaining what 'becoming Brahman' means according to him :—

"....He who is such, practising Dhyānāyoga, is fitted for becoming Brahman (Brahmabhūyāya), i. e., he is fitted for the state of Brahman (Brahmabhāvāya). The meaning is: freed from all bonds, he experiences the soul in its real state (yathāvasthita)."

Op. cit. XVIII. 53, p. 349.

"Having become Brahman (Brahmabhūtaḥ) *i.e.* having attained the soul whose sole nature consists in its dependence on Me, and which is of the same form (with Me) by virtue of infinite knowledge that has arisen in it."

Op. cit. XVIII. 54, p. 349.

"He becomes Brahman (Brahma sampadyate); the meaning is that he (then) attains the soul which is of the same form (with Me) by virtue of infinite knowledge."

Op. cit. XIII. 30, p. 268.

“Now as regards (Kṣetrajñā's) being circumscribed by the body, it is brought about by action; (otherwise) he is infinite when freed from the bond of action.”

Op. cit. XIII. 12, p. 258.

In addition, the sections VIII, 21; XII. 4; XIII. 23, 34; and XIV. 2, 26 may also be referred to in this connection.

Further, commenting on Gītā. XIII. 12, Rāmānuja explains why the soul freed from bondage is referred to by the name 'Brahman' in Gītā, XIV. 26, 27 and XVIII. 54, by giving its etymology as “Brahman, *i. e.*, possessed of the quality of 'vastness' (bṛhattva)”, and by referring to Śvet., U. 5.9, which text speaks of the infinitude of the liberated soul.

Lastly may be referred to the section V. 19, where Rāmānuja sums up in short what Brahman is and what the conquest over saṁsāra means, saying :—“Spotless, indeed, and uniform is Brahman. The entity of the soul which is uniform when it is apart from the evil arising from its contact with Prakṛti, is, indeed, Brahman. (Therefore) if they rest in the uniformity of the soul, they rest, verily, in Brahman. And resting in Brahman itself is, indeed, the conquest over saṁsāra. The meaning is that those are surely liberated who only discern uniformity (sāmya) in all souls, because they are (all) of the same form consisting of intelligence (jñāna).”

That the uniformity spoken of above in respect of the souls freed from their contact with Prakṛti is not confined to the liberated souls in themselves which are as well called Brahman, but is applicable also to the Para or Supreme Brahman—is placed beyond doubt by such statements of Rāmānuja as the following :—

“We learn from the following Śruti that the Supreme Brahman performs everywhere the functions of hands, feet, etc. even when He has no hands, feet (and so on):—‘Grasping without hands, hasting without feet...’ Śvet. U., 3.11.

Performance of the functions of hands, feet, and so on everywhere on the part of the innermost (individual) soul (pratyagātman) in its pure state, too, is indeed maintained by the Śruti, because in that state it acquires equality with the (Supreme Brahman). The Śruti declares :—

Then he is wise, and shaking off good and evil, he reaches the highest equality, free from taint. (Muṇḍ. U. 3.1.3).

The following will also be declared :—

‘They who, having resorted to this knowledge, have attained to equality with Me (mama sādharṁyam)’.

(Gītā, XIV. 2).

.....(The soul) in its pure nature is present everywhere, because it is (then) free from limitations of place, etc.’

Op. Cit. XIII. 13, p. 259.

Thus we have seen that the so-called ‘becoming Brahman’ of the embodied soul according to Rāmānuja does not mean its absolute absorption into the Lord, but acquiring most of the qualities of and equality with Him : neither more nor less.

Direct means of attaining Mokṣa.

The direct means of attaining Mokṣa according to Śaṅkara consists in Jñānayoga, *i. e.*, the path of knowledge. The word ‘knowledge’ in this connection means precisely the right knowledge of the soul which according to him consists in the fact that it is absolutely identical with Brahman.

According to Rāmānuja, however, Jñānayoga forms a means to that end only through the aid of Bhaktiyoga or the path of devotion to the Lord. By the latter is won the grace (Prasāda) of the Lord, and it is through this grace that an aspirant after Mokṣa can cross beyond the three qualities of Prakṛti which bind him to saṁsāra. Mere knowledge of the soul is not a means complete in itself.

To quote Rāmānuja, “ A crossing beyond the qualities will not (cannot) be achieved merely by investigating the difference between Prakṛti and the soul which has been taught in Gītā XIV. 19; because that can be nullified by a contrary vāsanā which proceeds since a time without beginning. ‘He who serves Me....by an exclusive Bhaktiyoga’, *i. e.*, (by the path of devotion) which is endowed with exclusiveness, he crossing beyond these qualities’....becomes fit for the state of Brahman.”

Op. cit, XIV. 26, p. 282.

Thus we see that according to Rāmānuja, a true knowledge of the soul without Bhaktiyoga is of little avail, because it can be nullified

by a contrary *vāsanā* regarding the nature of the soul. By '*vāsanā*' is meant the habitual tendency of the mind to identify the soul with the matter. The mind owes this habit to the fact that it has always known them as closely associated with each other for countless past lives. A mere knowledge in theory of the true nature of the soul can only dispel the ignorance about it. It is, however, too impotent to eradicate a habit which a contrary *vāsanā* undoubtedly is. To annihilate this *vāsanā* one is to have recourse to the germicide of Bhaktiyoga.

Śaṅkara, in whose system Bhakti occupies an insignificant position lays all his emphasis on Jñānayoga and makes every other expedient subservient to its accomplishment*. Rāmānuja to the contrary gives the first place to Bhaktiyoga and makes other expedients likewise subordinate to it. Accordingly Karmayoga or the path of action, *i. e.* duties enjoined by the Scriptures on each caste and order of life separately, is, according to Śaṅkara but preparatory to Jñānayoga, and meant only for the ignorant people who do not possess the right knowledge of the soul. It is helpful in the attainment of Mokṣa only in so far as it enables the aspirant to undertake Jñānayoga by purifying his mind. For one, however, who is qualified for Jñānayoga, Karmayoga is of no use. But according to Rāmānuja this is not the case. He combines Jñānayoga with Karmayoga and presents such Karmayoga as comprises the knowledge of the soul and denies the agency of the doer, assigning it to the three qualities of Prakṛti, — as preparing one directly for Bhaktiyoga in the same way as Jñānayoga. Nay, he gives preference to Karmayoga over Jñānayoga on the grounds summed up by him in the following manner :—

“ Because Karmayoga is easy to accomplish for a man who does take to expedients; because it is free from (the liability to) mistake; because it comprises the investigation of the nature of the soul; and because bodily existence depends on the continuance of action (Karman) even on the part of a devotee of Jñānayoga; therefore, for the perception of the soul, Karmayoga is, indeed, the better.”

Op. Cit. III. 19, p. 58.

* *Vide* Comm. on Gītā. XV—beginning; XVIII. 49-55

To these he adds one more ground at III. 8, *viz.*, that the path of knowledge is quite new and 'untrodden before' (anabhyastapūrva) to its devotee, whereas the path of action has invariably always been pursued by everyone.

Action being indispensable even for a Jñānayogin at least in the interest of bodily maintenance, the meaning of 'Karmatyāga' taught by the Gītā shifts from the abandonment of action in itself to that of the attachment to its fruit etc. This tends to give to Jñānayoga the complexion of Karmayoga. Thus the all-important Jñānayoga of Śaṅkara as an independent means of attaining Mokṣa is reduced to a nominal entity in the hands of Rāmānuja.

BIHAR IN THE TIME OF AURANGZEB

By SYED HASAN ASKARI.

Safi Khan,¹ son of Islam Khan Mashhadi, had figured in the Deccan and Bijapur as an envoy and as Bakshi and Waqa-i-Nawis, and he had accompanied Prince Aurangzeb to Qandhar, and was sometime the custodian of the Kangra Fort during the reign of Shahjahan. He had already ruled over² Orissa, managed the affairs of Agra and Delhi, accompanied Prince Akbar to Lahore and Multan, was appointed for a time to the post of Bakshi-i-Tan, and had again got the Subahdari of Agra in the 22nd regnal year of Aurangzeb when, about³ two years after, he was sent to Bihar, as its Governor, in the place of Saif Khan who was transferred to Allahabad. That it was not Saif Khan but Safi Khan who served as the Governor of Bihar from the 24th to the 26th year of the reign can be easily established with the help of the evidences at our disposal. Bhimsen's statement that Safi Khan was the Subahdar of Patna when Ganga Ram Nagar rose in revolt in Bihar and troubled him has already been⁴ referred to. Of course he mentions this affair in connection with the events of the 23rd year which commenced in Ramzan, 1090, or September, 1679, but in the same place he goes on to trace the end of the career of Ganga Ram which closed with his death at⁵ Ujjain in 1684. Obviously, the dates of Bhimsen have to be accepted with due care and caution. The earliest connection of Safi Khan with Bihar cannot be traced before the "beginning of the autumnal harvest Bichieel⁶, 1688, Fasli" (1191 A. H.) or October, 1680, which, according to a newly discovered document, marks the commencement of the Jagir of Safi Khan in Parganah Haveli Hajipur. This document

¹ Life in M. U.

² See also M. A.

³ J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XXXII, 1946 Part I.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Sarkar's A.

⁶ A. Turkish month named after monkey.

which is a very important evidence for establishing the identity of this forgotten Governor of Bihar is an authentic and sealed⁷ copy of a Parwanah granted by "Safi Khan Alamgir Shahi" on 25th Moharram, year 24th or 5th February, 1681, renewing the grant of 50 bighas of lands in village Saadullah Pure Satan as rent-free Madad-i-Maash property to Shaikh Bayazid and others who were the Mojawirs or Keepers of Manmoon Bhanja mausoleum still extant at Jaruha, Hajipur. References are also found in this document to the "Sanads granted by the previous⁸ rulers" such as Ibrahim Khan, Amir Khan and Saif Khan. It says that the family of the original grantee had migrated to Jahagirnagar (Dacca) owing to famine⁹ which occurred in Bihar during the Subahdari of Ibrahim Khan and, consequently, the officials of the said Governor had taken possession of the land granted and fixed a 'Jama' of 19 rupees on it. But on their return to their homes when the period of scarcity of grain was over, they submitted a representation to the then Governor, Amir

7 The Seal is of "Nabi-ur-Rahman Naib of Khadim-i-Shara Qazi Moham-madi." The gist of the contents is given on the back of the document and there is also a reference to the entry in the register of "Sadarat Panah Shaikh Ali Akbar Sadr".

8 One of the documents is an authentic copy of "Sanad under the seal of Shaikh Abdullah bin Mohammad Usman" issued on 7th Shawwal, year 21, equivalent to 1088 Hijri or 24th Nov. 1677. We do not know who this Shaikh Abdullah was but he also refers to the previous Sanads and confirms the said grant "in accordance with the august command". It bears the seal of the "Naib of Qazi Amanullah Khadim Shara-i-Rasullaah" dated 1190. On the back we get references to the Sanads of Jafar Khan, Daud Khan, Lashkar Khan, and Amir Khan. It also says that the recipient did not possess the Sanad of Tarbiat Khan and "some of the Sanads of rulers and Hukum-namas had been lost by him" but "he had in his hands Mahzars". A Sanad or Parwanah of Buzurg Ummad Khan which bears the dates of 10th and 21st Moharram, year 33 (or 15 and 26 October 1689) also refers to the "sealed Parwanahs" of Jafar Khan, Daud Khan, Akbar Khan (?) Amir Khan, Haji Mohammad, Diwan, and Mullah Makhdum, the Imperial sadar, Saif Khan, Safi Khan, and also refers to the attestation under the seal of Qazi Fathullah of the Parganah of Hajipur.

9 An account of this famine has been given in the paper already published in J. B. O. R. S. It is significant that John Marshall also refers to the migration of the people from Bihar to Dacca.

Khan, who restored the Madad-i-Maash lands, and the Mutasaddis (clerks) of his successor, Saif Khan, the next Governor, also gave effect to it and a sanad was granted by him for that purpose. Accordingly, Safi Khan also ordered the renewal of the grant.

That this Parwanah or Sanad was not issued by Safi Khan in his capacity as the Jagirdar of Hajipur is apparent not only from the nature of its contents which open with the usual directions to " the Mutasaddis and agents of the present and future " but also from the clear mention in Dilkusha of Safi Khan, son of Islam Khan Mashhadi, at about this time, as the Subahdar of Bihar. Stewart¹⁰ mentions 1682 as the year of the rebellion of Ganga Ram and he says that having collected a number of followers he plundered the city of Bihar and immediately after advanced to Patna giving out that Prince Akbar who " in the preceding year " had rebelled against his father had taken refuge with him. Now Prince Akbar turned against his father at the instigation of the Rajputs on 29th Zilhijja,¹¹ year 24th, (1091) or 9th January 1681, and leaving his family and children in the north, fled to the Deccan, on 6th Moharram, 1092, or 17th January¹² 1681. There is no mention anywhere that Akbar had any connection with Bihar. The author of Maasir-i-Alamgiri says that early in 1092 or in the beginning of 1681 the Secretary and Munshi of Ruhullah Khan were put under the custody of the Kotwal because they had become the surety for " Ganga Ram, the agent¹³ of Khan Jahan Bahadur, who had raised a rebellion in the Subah of Allahabad. " Sir J. N. Sarkar¹⁴ rightly contends that the rebellion of Ganga Ram occurred in Bihar and not in Allahabad and he gives March, 1681, as the date of the rebellion. We are, however, not in possession of any original document on the basis of which we can fix the exact date of the rebellion. Certain it is, however, that the occurrence took place during the Subahdari of Safi Khan and not of " Syf " Khan or " Saif " Khan as Stewart and Sarkar would have us believe.

There is another and more conclusive evidence about two personages, Saif Khan and Safi Khan, having ruled over Bihar

¹⁰ History of Bengal, P. 350.

¹¹ M. A.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ History of Aurangzeb by Sir J. N. Sarkar.

in succession to each other. Sarkar's copy of the Akhbarat,, while recording certain events that happened in Bihar during the month of Shawwal and the succeeding two months of the year 25th of accession i.e. 1681, refers three times to Safi Khan or Safih Khan and describes him as the Subahdar of Bihar. It is true that in the same valuable record, under two different dates, Shaaban, year 24th, and Shawwal, year 25th, the names given of the Subahdar of Bihar is Saif Khan. But it is significant that the initial letter of the name is '*Saad*' and not '*Sin*' and nowhere do we find any personage throughout the reign of Aurangzeb who bore the title of Saif Khan with a *Saad* as the initial letter. In one place, in the same copy, dated Shawwal, year 25th or October, 1681, we come across an imperial order which was simultaneously issued to Saif Khan (with '*Sin*'), Governor of Allahabad, and Saif Khan (with '*Saad*'), the Subahdar of Bihar, calling upon them to send the revenues of their respective provinces to the court under escort. The two Subahdars have been again mentioned together in another news-letter, dated Zilhijja, year 25th, or December, 1681. " Safih " Khan, the Subahdar of Bihar, refers to a Jagir in Bihar which formerly belonged to Saif Khan (with '*Sin*'), then the Governor of Allahabad. One cannot but attach due weight to the spelling of the name of the Subahdar of Bihar the initial letter of which is '*Saad*' and not '*Sin*' throughout in the Akhbarat. Even in Maasir-i-Alamgiri the name of the dismissed Governor of Bihar who returned to the court on 19th Rabi I, year 26 (1094) is spelt as Saif Khan with '*Saad*'. If the *Ye* is read not before but after *Fe* the word easily becomes Safi. In fact, Saif Khan with '*Saad*' is a very uncommon title and can hardly be met with anywhere. Thus in view of the evidence adduced above and considering that there is sufficient room for confusing Saif Khan with Safi Khan and also because the authoritative historians of Aurangzeb make no mention of such an important personage as Safi Khan in connection with any event between the end of the year 23rd (1091), Rabi I, year 26th (or March 1683) one feels justified in discovering in him the forgotten eighth Subahdar of Bihar during this period.

As regards the important events that happened in Bihar during the regime of Safi Khan, the first to be mentioned by Stewart alone, is about the appearance, at Patna, of a young man calling himself a

son of Shah Shuja and pretending to have effected his escape, with much difficulty, from Arrakan. Stewart writes " He called upon the people to espouse his cause, but ' Syf ' Khan, the Governor of Bihar, obtaining intelligence of the circumstances, before he could procure any partisan in his favour, seized and put him in irons ". Both the Hijri, 1095, and the English dates, 1682, are incorrect and ' Syf ' Khan should be Safi Khan. " A few days after this event " continues Stewart, " Ganga Ram, a Zamindar of Bihar, rebelled ". This Ganga Ram is the Gujrati Nagar Brahman and an old acquaintance¹⁵ of Bhimsen for whom the historian had secured a job under Rai Mukrand, the grandson of one of his uncles, and who after the death of the said Rai had become the Diwan of Khan Jehan Zafar Jung. He was not a Zamindar of Bihar but an Amil or agent of Khan Jahan who, according to Sir J. N. Sarkar, " sent him to Hindustan¹⁶ to manage his estates in Allahabad and Bihar when he went as viceroy to the Deccan in 1680 ". Owing to the jealousy of the old Mutasaddis or clerks who unjustly charged him with embezzlement and poisoned the ears of his master against him he was recalled by Khan Jehan. But he disobeyed him and gathering 4000¹⁷ horse plundered the town of Bihar Sharif and advancing laid seige to Patna. Stewart, and following him Sir J. N. Sarkar, say that the Governor of Patna had neglected to keep up sufficient contingent of troops and was so much alarmed that he shut himself up within the walled fort. The seige was raised only when important reinforcements arrived from Dacca and Benares. According to Bhimsen¹⁸ Ganga Ram caused much trouble to Safi Khan but the fate was against him, and being wounded he had to leave the vicinity of Patna. He, however, turned against many of the

¹⁵ Dilkusha 47a, 57b, 58a. Ganga Ram had also served under Bahadur Khan, a viceroy of the Deccan, who had once sent him to Sivaji Marhatta in the year 17th of Aurangzeb's reign. It was in this very year that he was appointed Diwan of Zafarjung Kokaltash. In the following year he was more firmly entrenched in the favour of his master who exalted him above all the other old Mutasaddis.

¹⁶ History of Aurangzeb 309 Bhimsen says that he was sent to manage the Khan's Jagirs in Hindustan when the latter went to the court.

¹⁷ Dilkusha 79a (Kujhwa ms.)

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Zamindars of the district whom he deprived of their possessions. Being a gallant soldier whose work might be turned to account he proceeded to the Court of Aurangzeb when the latter was in the Deccan, but he died at Ujjain. According to Sir J. N. Sarkar, Ganga Ram having entered Malwa acted in concert with the Rajput rebels there and plundered Sironj in October,¹⁹ 1684, shortly before his death at Ujjain.

Another important event that happened in Bihar during the time of Safi Khan was the rebellious attitude of Rudra Singh, the Raja of Buxer and Bhojpur, and a successor of Raja Kakolat Sahi. A news letter in the Akhbarat, dated Shaaban, year 24th, or 16th August, 1681, says "Ashraf²⁰ Khan the Bakshi, submitted to His Majesty that the Vakil of Saif Khan (Safi), Subahdar of Bihar, had written that a Farman had been issued to his master that the mischievous Rudra Singh, the dismissed Zamindar of Bhojpur, should be conveyed on horse back under the escort of Hamid²¹ Khan, the Faujdar of the place, to Patna, but as it was the rainy season and there were many rivulets on the way he could not arrive there and this might give room to criticisms and, therefore, he had requested that he should be allowed to carry out the orders after the expiry of the rainy season. The request was granted and orders were issued to send a letter to the Subahdar through his Vakil.

Rudra Singh was the son of Raja Amar Singh and a grandson of the famous Raja Narain Mal. It appears from Tarikh-i-Ujjainia that he had at first made a common cause with the notorious Kuar Dhir of Baranwan and had risen in revolt against the Nazim of Bihar on account of the reimposition of Jizya.²² There is a good deal of confusion of names, dates, and facts in this so-called History of the Ujjainias. But one can pick up a few facts from this hopeless mess of facts and

¹⁹ History of Aurangzeb.

²⁰ He was appointed first Bakshi on the death of Himmat Khan in Jamadi, I, 1092 or May 1681.

²¹ Hamid Khan was one of those deputed against the Rathors on 16 Jamadi II, 1090, or 16 July 1679. He was appointed Foujdar of Bhojpur on 30th Rabi I, 1092 or 10 April 1681 (M. A.).

²² The reimposition of Jizya was ordered on 1 Rabi I, 1090 or 2nd April 1679 (M. A.).

fictions. It seems that good sense prevailed, or at any rate, Raja Rudra Singh was weaned away from his alliance with his distant relative^{22a} and chose to turn against, and defeat him. According to the author of T. U. Raja Rudra, Singh while returning home, was poisoned at the instigation of Dhir in 1699. The Akhbarat tells us that the news of the death of Rudra Singh "the Zamindar of Bhojpur", who had been deputed to Bengal, and who had held the rank of 1000 horse reached the imperial Court in the Deccan on 18th of August 1700 A. D.

It appears that soon after the affair of Rudra Singh, recorded in the Akhbarat of March, 1681, on the complaint of Safi Khan, Hamid Khan Quraishi, the Foujdar of Shahabad, was dismissed and summoned to the Court and he was replaced by Shaikh Ibrahim, the Foujdar of Sasaram. The Akhbarat, dated 12th October, 1681, records "on the complaint of Safi Khan, Subahdar of Bihar, Hamid Khan, the Foujdar of Shahabad, *alias* Bhojpur, was displaced and summoned to the court. He had been favoured with a rank of 1000, 1000 do aspa and an Inam of 80 lakhs Dam. He was allowed to retain his rank but the Foujdari of Shahabad was conferred on Shaikh Ibrahim, the Foujdar of Sasaram, who got an increase of 600 to his rank of 400, 400 and he too was given an Inam of 80 lakhs Dam. Orders were issued that a Hasbul Hukum under the seal of Abdur Rahim Khan, Bukshi, should be sent to Hamid Khan through Mirza Beg, the mace-bearer who was to escort Hamid Khan to the court". The reason for the change, given in another letter, dated 12th of March 1681, is that the dismissed Faujdar had laid hands on the crown lands. The Akhbarat says "A fact regarding the Subhadar of Bihar was reported to the effect that Hamid Khan, the son of Daud Khan, the deceased, having heard of his removal from the Faujdari of Shahabad, and being pressed by the men of his army for their arrear pay had plundered a few Mahals of the Khalsa lands and also those in the Jagir of Safi Khan, the Subahdar of Bihar, and thus he was able to pay off the dues of his soldiery. Safi Khan sent a warning to the said Khan that he would be taken to task by the Emperor

^{22a} Dhir was fourth in descent from Dalip, Utrine brother of Raja Sangram Sahi, the ancestor (5th from) of Rudra Singh.

for plundering the crown lands and the reply was that he had collected a force, in excess of that sanctioned, for regulating the affairs of that quarter, but now that he had been removed he found himself unable to pay off the dues of his men and, therefore, he was compelled to seize the money by force to discharge his debts. He added that if his action was taken as objectionable he could not help it. His Majesty ordered Ruhullah Khan to send a Husbul Hukum through Allahverdi, the mace-bearer, to the said Khan (Hamid) saying that an account of his distressed condition had reached the court through his men and he would be looked after. The mace-bearer had to act as a Sazawal and escort Hamid Khan to the court. On the 15th of December 1681, we find Hamid Khan, the dismissed Faujdar of Shahabad, presenting himself in the court and offering a present in the shape of a copy of the Holy Book. The Emperor ordered the book to be taken out of his hands and brought to him but²³ he was himself not to be presented.

Safi Khan continued to govern Bihar till the 26th year, that is the end of 1093, or 1682, when he was dismissed and summoned to the court. He arrived at the court, on the 15th of Rabi I, 1094²⁴ or 9th March 1683. But as he had appropriated to his own use, and without any authority, a sum of Rs. 56, or 60 thousands from the treasury of Bihar he was deprived of the honour of being presented before the Emperor and Mughal Khan was ordered to keep him confined in Yatash Khana (?) of Bahramand Khan. He remained under the custody of Mughal Khan till the 5th of the next²⁵ month when he paid off the amount. There is no indication anywhere in the standard works as to who immediately succeeded him in Bihar. Even the Akhbarat is silent on the point. The Colophon of a rare Persian²⁶ Ms., now in O. P. L., Patna, says that the scribe completed the copy at Patna during the Governorship of Buzurg Ummid Khan, a son of Amir-al-Umara, Shaista Khan, in Ramzan, 1098, or July, 1687. But another valuable document²⁷, also discovered by the present writer, at Jaruha, Hajipur, clearly establishes that the intervening period,

²³ Hamid Khan died at Burhanpur on 20 Rabi I, 1093 or 2nd December 1691 (M. A.).

²⁴ M. A.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

1683-86, was also filled up by Buzurg Ummed Khan. It is an official copy of the Parwannah, bearing the seal of "Nabi-Ur-Rahman, Naib-i-Khadim-i-Shara, Qazi Muhammadi Khan" which was originally issued under the seal of "Buzurg Ummed Khan, Khanzad-i-Alamgir Badshah" on 3rd Moharram, year 26th (1094) or 23th January, 1683, confirming the grant of 50 bighas of land as Madad-i-Maash to the family of Shaikh Bayazid, keeper of Mamoon Bhanja Mausoleum in Saadullahpur Satn. On the back of the document references are found to the similar Parwannahs granted by Jafar Khan, Daud Khan, (Qurashi) Lashkar Khan, Amir Khan, Saif Khan and Safi Khan etc. It also contains the verification of Qazi Fathullah of Pargannah Hajipur and the date given is 11 Safar, 1094, when the original copy was entered in the Dewan's register. Thus there is no difficulty now in assigning the end of Safi Khan's rule in Bihar and the beginning of the Subadari of his successor, Buzurg Ummed Khan.

Though the author of Maasir-i-Alamgiri says nothing about the officials subordinate to, and the events that happened in Bihar during the regime of, Buzurg Ummed Khan, other sources provide us with many valuable information regarding these. Some of the²⁸

26 Diwan Syed Raja.

27 Another Parwanah of Buzurg Ummed Khan, dated 10 Moharram year 33 (1101) or 15 October, 1689 says that the said lands should be given in possession of the grantees from the commencement of Fasl Kharif Neelameel "1097 Fasli". All these precious documents belong to, and were kindly lent by, Shah Vakil Ahmad Saheb of Jaruha who claims descent from Shaikh Mohammad Qaim, younger brother of Shaikh Bayazid.

28 All these letters are available in a big Volume entitled Mansurat, compiled by Mohammad Ali, Tamanna, son of Khaja Abdullah, Taic. In a letter to Saif Khan, the Mirza refers to a special type of melors called Sarda which he had grown at Hajipur, and which he sent as a present to the addressee. Another contains a chronogram giving the year 1096. In a third he says "During all this time that I have been on duty in the Government of this place I have never neglected the business of government specially that relating to the revenue". Elsewhere he makes a pun on his office of the Diwan and says that he was waiting for orders to return to the court. In two other letters he refers to his stay in Bihar and to his office of the Diwan of Bihar.

The Persian Diwan Syed Raja, now in O. P. L. Patna was copied on Thursday the 27th Ramzan 1098 A. H. (28 July 1687), "when Nawab Buzurg Ummed Khan was Governor of Bihar and the Scholarly Mirza Muiz was the Diwan (of the Sulha)".

letters of the well-known Persian poet²⁹. Scholar, Mirza Muiz, Fitrat, tells us about his having held the office of the Dewan of Patna at about this time. We are told by a well-known authority that the Mirza was a daughter's son of the great Persian Divine, Mirza Zaman Mashhadi, and he arrived in India in 1082 or 1671. He was married, at the instance of the emperor, with the latter's sister-in-law, the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan Safavi, and the aunt of Prince Azam Shah. We further learn ³⁰ that he was appointed Diwan of Patna and Bihar at an early stage of his career in India and he served as such for many years. But the relation between him and the Bihar Governor who was also of very high connections became³¹ strained and mutual complaints constantly reached the court. Ultimately, the Mirza was recalled to the court and after being given the title of Musavi Khan was appointed Diwan of the Pay officers and later Diwan of the Deccan in the year³² 32 (1100) or 1688. The Diwani of Bihar was probably conferred on Mir Hussain who has been mentioned as such in the Akhbarat of December 1694. Another Officer whom the touchy and self-opinionated Governor of Bihar insulted³³ and turned out" was Abdur Rahim, the Report-writer of the province, for which he was punished by the emperor who ordered a decrease of 500 in his rank and transferred his Jagir. An important document preserved in Tarikh-i-Ujjainia, Vol. III, and executed by Kuer Dhir of Baranwan (Shahabad), in favour of certain Pandits, on 13th Sravan, 1748, Vikaram Era or 28th July, 1691 mentions the name of the emperor, of Rudra Singh, the Raja of Bhojpur Dumraon, of Buzurg Ummid Khan, the Governor of Bihar, and of "Ibrahim Khan jiv", apparently the Faujdar of Shahabad. The Akhbarat

29. M. U.

30. *Ibid.*

31 The author of M. U. says that once the Mirza offended the highly sensitive and fastidious Governor, Buzurg Ummed Khan, by using the water of the basin in his residential house and by washing or rinsing out his mouth therefrom.

32 M. A.

33 Ahkam-i-Alamgiri, edited by Sir J. N. Sarkar. The writer feels greatly indebted to his revered Guru for allowing the opportunity to utilise his precious manuscripts and books.

records the names of Hamid Khan,³⁴ alias Munshi Ibrahim, as the Faujdar of Arrah, of Ghulam Mohiuddin³⁵ as the Amin in charge of the Jizya of Bihar, of Siadat Khan³⁶ as the Sadar of the Subah, of Bahadur Singh as the Mushriff³⁷ (Inspector) of Police Station, Patna, of Sher Afghan, as the Foujdar³⁸ of Purneah, of Syed Muhammad,³⁹ son of Syed Mahmud, as the news writer and Superintendent in charge of the branding of horses, and of Ali Reza,⁴⁰ the brother of Siadat Khan, and later Ismaeel,⁴¹ as the Bukshi of the Subah of Bihar. The Akhbarat, dated Ramzan year 37th, or April, 1693, while giving the name of another official tells us about an interesting event. It says "An Arzdahst of Sepahdar Khan,⁴² the Foujdar of Darbhanga, was submitted to His Majesty to the effect that the Banjaras⁴³ in the vicinity of Rajpura had created disturbances in the previous year and they were expected to raise their heads again in this quarter and, therefore, the Subahdar and the Foujdar should be ordered to give aid to the writer. Orders were issued to the Chief Bukshi, Bahramand Khan, to despatch a Husbul Hukum to the Subahdar and to

34 The Akhbarat, dated 19 July 1694, says "An occurrence in Bihar was reported that Bir Bali (?) Ujjainia had taken to high way robbery and had, consequently, been imprisoned in the fort of Arrah. He was released by Ahmad Khan *alias* Munshi Ibrahim, the Qiladar of the place. Orders were issued that the Qiladar should be dismissed for transgressing orders.

35 He was granted a Khilat on 31 July 1694.

36 Presents a Volume of the Holy Book on 13 Nov. 1693.

37 Report of death reached the court on 15th Nov. 1693.

38 Given a rank of 900, 700 and also an Inam of 1 Karor 30 lakhs dam on 9th July 1694.

39 Transferred to Agra to be in charge of the building there on 22 Nov. 1694.

40 Dated 22 Nov. 1694.

41 *Ibid.*

42 He should not be confused with his namesake who was the son of Kokaltash Zafar Jung for the latter held, at this time, a rank of 3000, 2000 and was the Subahdar of Allahabad with the Foujdari of Jaunpur as an appanage to it (M. A.)

43 The nefarious activities of these wandering people who in the guise of traders (in grains) and travellers used to plunder the Imperial domains and treasures have been frequently mentioned in the works of the 17th and 18th writers.

the Faujdar of this district so that they might render the help asked for by the said Khan.

It appears from the Akhbarat, however, that the majority of these officials were in Bihar in the year 37th, or 38th of the reign. But the official historian says that Buzurg Ummid Khan was transferred from Bihar to the Subadari of Allahabad on the 1st of Ziqad year 36 (1103) or 5th July 1692. The historian, however, does not tell us as to who succeeded him in Bihar. Later he writes in connection with the events dated 21 January, 1105, that Sepahdar Khan, the son of Kokaltash Khan Zafar Jung, had on the "Intiqal (transfer) of Buzurg Ummid Khan become the Nazim of Allahabad with the Foujdari of Jaunpur being made an appanage to it." We are left in the dark as to why, when, and where, Buzurg Ummid Khan was transferred but the same authority tells us that on 8th Rajab year 38(1106) or February, 1695 Buzurg Ummid Khan, the Nazim of the Subah of Bihar, "having cut off his hopes from⁴⁴ this world", (died) Itaqad Khan and Abul Muaali were given robes and came out from the stage of lamentation for their deceased brother, and Fidai Khan was appointed to the Government of Bihar, his place being taken in the Government of Allahabad by Mukhtar Khan who was relieved of his office of Mir Atash by Khanazad Khan. The Akhbarat, dated 30th November, 1694 records "An occurrence in the Subah of Bihar was reported that Buzurg Ummid Khan, the son of Amirul Umara, the deceased, who held the rank of 3000,2000 had died. Two Hasbul Hukums, under the seal of Bahramand Khan,⁴⁵ were sent by post, one to Sabir Khan, a son of Buzurg Ummid Khan, the deceased, and the Foujdar Ghazipur Zamania, and the other to Mir Hussain, the Diwan of the Subah of Bihar". Thus though the exact date of the death of Buzurg Ummid Khan is not known, it is quite clear that it took place earlier than February 1695, as indicated by Mustaid Khan Saqi, and that he was in Bihar at that time.

There is also some difference between Maasir-i-Alamgiri, and the Akhbarat about the nomination of the immediate successor of

⁴⁴ M. A.

⁴⁵ He was the son of Bahram, brother of Jafar Khan, a former Governor of Bihar, and he was appointed Mir Bukshi on the death of Ruhullah Khan in ziqad 1103 or July 1692.

Buzurg Ummid Khan to the Government of Bihar. According to the author of M. A., as already indicated above, Mir Qamruddin, Mukhtar Khan:⁴⁶ the father-in-law of Prince Bedar Bukht, was removed on 8th Rajab, year 38th (1106) or 13th February, 1695, from the office of Mir Atash in favour of Khanazad Khan and was appointed Subadar of Agra in place of Fedai Khan who was transferred to Bihar. But the Akhbarat of the year 38 mentions Mukhtar Khan no less than 4 times as the Subahdar of Bihar. These are the entries in the Akhbarat:— "Orders were issued that Mukhtar Khan, the Subahdar (of Bihar) should accompany prince Muazzam" (Jamadi year 38 or Dec. 1694). "Mukhtar Khan was removed from the Subahdari of Bihar and he was appointed Governor of Akbarabad. He held the rank of 2000⁴⁷ out of which 1000 was Do aspa and 1000 conditional on the Subahdari of Bihar. He was given an increase of 1000 horse and also 8000 rupees. His son, Iftakhar Khan, was appointed Foujdar in the regions of Akbarabad and he was given an increase of 500 to 900 horse which he had already held" (12 Dec., 1694). "According to the papers sent by Mukhtar Khan who had been appointed to the Subahdari of Bihar, it was submitted to His Majesty that the Mahals in the Jagir of Buzurg Ummid Khan, the deceased, had been taken for balance of accounts, and orders were solicited to the Diwan of the Subah to take charge of the income thereof. Orders were issued that Parwannahs should be sent to the Diwan." (16 Dec., 1649). "The brass sellers had brought a complaint against Mukhtar Khan that he had purchased from them brass pots worth 2300 rupees and on the price being demanded he had said that he would send them the above amount from the Subah of Bihar. Orders were issued that the said Khan should be made to hand over immediately the amount to the brass sellers, and it was done" (2nd January 1695). Evidently, Mokhtar Khan had been at first

⁴⁶ M. A; M. U. for his life. He did not "fill up the gap of about a year and a half" between the regimes of Buzurg Ummid Khan and Fidai Khan as was wrongly pointed out in the footnote of pages of the second instalment of this paper published in J. B. O. R. S.

⁴⁷ According to the author of M. A. Mukhtar Khan, Mir Atash, held the rank of 3000, 1500 and 500 more that had been taken away was restored to him in Rabi I 1104 or October, 1692.

nominated to the Government of Bihar in succession to Buzurg Ummid Khan but the order was cancelled and as the Akhbarat, dated 12 December, 1694, says "Fidai Khan, the dismissed Subahdar of Akbarabad was appointed Subadar of Bihar. He held the rank of 2500, 2000 out of which 1000 was Doaspa. The rank of 2500 was conditional on service which was restored".

The author of M. A. says nothing about the eventful regime of Muhammad Saleh, son of Azam Khan Koka and entitled Fedai Khan,⁴⁸ in Bihar, which lasted from 1695 to March⁴⁹ 1702. The Akhbarat, however, furnish us with some information. In Ziqad, year 39, or 12th January 1695, a Farman with a khilat with regard to the Subahdari of Behar was sent to Fidai Khan from the court. In Ziqad, year 40th or 12th January, 1696, he was promised an increase of 500 in his rank on condition of holding the Foujdari of Tirhut in addition to his office as Subahdar of the province. In Safar, year 39, or September 1695, orders were issued that the mischievous zamindar of Deogarh⁵⁰ of whom Shaikh Saadatmund, son of Niamat Khan, the deceased, had become a surety, should be kept under watch. On the same day it was submitted by Saadat Khan, on the strength of the report of Samant (?),⁵¹ Bihari, that Bhagwandas (?), a relative of the latter who had embraced Islam along with his family and dependents had abjured his new faith. Orders were issued to send the necessary directions to Fidai Khan, the Subahdar of Bihar, and to Ibrahim Khan, the Subahdar of Bengal, for necessary actions. In Zilhijja, year 39, or 9th July, 1695, Ibadullah, son-in-law of Mullah Wajhi, was given a robe and he was sent as the Sadar of the Subah of Bihar. In Ziqad, year 40, or 3rd January, 1696, Syed Izzat Khan, the dismissed Foujdar of Tirhut, was appointed Foujdar of Bihar Shariff in the place of Abul Hasan. He held a rank of 700, 200 and was given an increase of 100,300.

There is nothing on record about the year 41 and the only thing that we get from the Akhbarat about the year 42 is that on 9th or

⁴⁸ Life in M. U.

⁴⁹ Shawwal, year 46 (1113) Akhbarat.

⁵⁰ The Santal Parganah (Dumka subdivision.)

⁵¹ Sarkar's copy of the Akhbarat which has been consulted does not convey a clear idea on this point.

10th September 1698 certain requests of Fedai Khan, the Governor of Bihar, were accepted by the emperor. The restrictions about the conditional branding of horses were removed and two of his sons, Mir Nuruddin and Mohammad Amin, were favoured with small ranks, and another son, Muhammad Salah, the Foujdar of Palamoon, was given an increase in his rank. As regards, year 43rd, in Zilhijja or 7th June, 1699, the Vakil or agent of Fedai Khan, the Nazim of Bihar, submitted that the Banjaras or grain sellers had created disturbances in the region of Tirhut and he submitted that if orders were issued to Sepahdar Khan who was the Jagirdar and Foujdar of the place to co-operate with his master he promised to inflict condign punishment on the rebels. On 3rd October orders were further issued that Fedai Khan, the Nazim of Bihar, and the Foujdar of Tirhut, should be directed to undertake the task of punishing the Banjara rebels who had spread over that district and the Nazim should draw up a document about the management⁵² of that Foujdari and having sealed it send the same. In the following years Zilhijja, year 44, or 15th May, 1700 the Governor of Bihar. sent 26 Falcons and 2½ Mds. of Arak-i-Bahar. On 28th July, 1700, Mohiuddin and Kutbuddin, two sons of Fedai Khan were granted small Mansabs on the recommendation of Bahramand Khan, and another son, Muslehuddin, was granted the title of Khan, in the August of the same year. On 15th December, 1700, Mir Faizullah, son of Atiquallah, the deceased, was appointed Foujdar of Makri Khoh⁵³ in the Subah of Bihar in place of Mir Akbar. He held the rank of 250, 30 and was given an increase of 50, 30. In Shaaban, year 44th, or 7th January, Muhammad Ali, brother of Siadat Khan, the Diwan of the Subah of Bihar, was granted title of Khan and his name was changed into Ahmed Ali Khan. He was given an increase of 200, 50 to 600, 100 which he already enjoyed.

As regards the events of the year 45th or 13th Ramzan of that year, or 10th February, 1701, Muslih Khan, son of Fedai Khan, was appointed Foujdar of Saran and he was given an increase of 50 horse to 400, 100 which he already held. On the 4th of the same month

⁵² The writer is not quite sure if his reading is correct here.

⁵³ Simply the word Makri is found in the text but there was an important place named Makri Khoh or Mangror in the sarkar of Rohtas.

Mohammad Sadiq, the son of Muhammad Shoaib,⁵⁴ the son-in-law of Fedai Khan, was favoured with a rank of 100,50. On the 4th June, 1701, some more Falcons were sent as presents to the court. In Safar year 45th, or 21st July, 1701, it was reported that Ahmed Ali Khan, the Diwan of Bihar, who held the rank of 800,150 had died. Orders were issued to Arshad Khan to suggest a name for the vacant Diwani of the province. In Rabi I, year 45th or 1st August 1701, it was reported that Safavatullah, the Superintendent of the second court, who held the rank of 450 had died and his son, Shaikh Saadatullah, had been appointed to his office. Orders were issued to summon him from Bihar. On 31st August, 1701, (Rabi I 45) the Emperor ordered Ruhullah Khan, the First Pay Master, to write to the Nazim of Bihar and of Oudh and ask them to send hunting hawks from Rajpur. An Arzdast of the Governor of Bihar together with a present of 200 gold Mohurs on the conquest of Sahdrug were laid before the emperor on 3rd September, 1701. On August 16th of the same year 700 bottles of Araki-Bahar, weighing 2 mds. and 20 seers, which had been sent by Fedai Khan, from Bihar, were presented before the Emperor. On 21st or 22nd November, 1701, Shamshair Khan⁵⁵

54 He was one of the uncles of Daud Ali Khan, son of Moulvi Mohammad Nasir of Shaikhpura Husainabad, in Monghere. He died very young in 1131. His father-in-law, Nawab Fidai Khan, ex-Governor of Bihar and of many other places, died in 1139 as the Bayaz of Daud Ali Khan tells us.

55 Mustaid Khan mentions him but once and does not say who he was. According to Stewart the Afghan rebel of Bengal, named Rahim Khan, who had assumed the title of Rahim Shah, was once on the point of taking Prince Azimus-shan prisoner when 'a brave Arab officer, named Hamid Khan challenged him to a single combat and cut off his head in 1698'. The Prince "procured for the brave Hamid Khan from the Emperor, the title of Shamshir Khan Bahadur and the office of the Foujdar or military commander of the districts of Bundasil and Silhet". The author describes "Shamshir Khan, Quraishi. Foujdar of Silhet" as one of the generals of Sarfaraz Khan of Bengal in 1739. Certainly, Md. Ibrahim, entitled Shamshir Khan, who was a nephew of Daud Khan Quraishi, was of pure Arab descent but he was born in India. He was Governor of Bihar in 1702 and of Oudh in 1703 onwards and he died fighting for Rafiush-sham in 1124 or 1712 as is evident from a chronogram "Jame Shahadat Noshid". His beautiful mausoleum lies on Shamshirnagar south of Dehri Khagol Canal bridge (Quraishi's Monuments of Behar, pp. 51-53).

was appointed Foujdar of Tirhut in place of Fedai Khan and he was entrusted with the task of collecting the Peshkash of elephants. He held the rank of 1700 Sawars out of which 700 were Doaspa and he got an increase of 100 Sawars. As regards Fedai Khan, he suffered a decrease of 100 sawars which was conditional on the collection of the Kheda of elephants. He held the rank of 3000, 2000 out of which 1800 was Doaspa. On 22nd December, 1701, (Shaaban 45) a petition of Fedai Khan, Nazim of Bihar, was submitted saying that his son, Muslihuddin, was not amenable to his advice and, therefore, he should be summoned to the court for correction. Orders were issued that a mace bearer should be sent to bring him to the court. The orders of 22nd December, 1701, regarding the mutual transfer of Zabardast Khan, Governor of Oudh and Fedai Khan, Governor of Bihar, were cancelled on the 13th Shaaban or 22nd January, 1702, and Fedai Khan was ordered to retain the Subahdari of Bihar and the Foujdari of Palamoon, and Shamshair Khan was also to continue as the Foujdar of Shahabad and Darbhanga.

Very soon, however, on 14th Ramzan, year 46th or 2nd February, 1702, Shamshair Khan was removed from the Foujdari of Tirhut which was again vested in the Governor, Fedai Khan, and Shamshair Khan was transferred to Oudh. Shaikh Jiwan, the son of Hamid Khan,

55a There is a good deal of confusion about this important personage. The family traditions, recorded by Quraishi, says that after the death of his uncle, Daud Khan, Md. Ibrahim, later entitled Shamsair Khan, was appointed Foujdar of Manikpur, and was soon promoted to the faujdarship of Sarkar Shahabad, a position which he is said to have held for 30 years. Daud Khan may have died some time after his appointment as Governor of Allahabad, in 1082, and, therefore, his nephew must have continued as Faujdar of Shahabad till about 1112 or 1700 A. D. Perhaps he got the title of Hamid Khan, his cousin, after the death of the latter, at Burhanpur, in 1093 or 1681, and is to be identified with "Munshi Ibrahim" of the Akhbarat and "Ibrahim Khan Jive" of Kuar Dhirs document referred to above. According to R. S. he avenged the blood of Khawja Anwar and killed Rahim Khan and was consequently, entitled Shamsair Khan, and appointed Faujdar of Bundsil and Silhet in about 1699 (?). But the Akhbarat, dated 22 Nov. 1701, refers to him as the Foujdar of Tirhut and that of 2nd January 1702 tells us that he was reinstated in the Foujdari of Shahabad and Darbhanga (Tirhut). A little earlier, the Akhbarat, dated 21 July, 1701, says that he was replaced in the Foujdari of Burdwan and Midnapur by Kartalab Khan. How could he combine the Foujdari of Shahabad and Tirhut in south and north Behar? He could not be the Foujdar of Silhat and a general of Sarfaraz Khan in 1739, as the author of R. S. would have us believe.

and the grandson of Daud Khan Qureshi, who held the rank of 500,150 was sent along with Shamshair Khan to Oudh. The Governor of Bihar was given a further but conditional increase of 1000 in his rank and he was also granted a drum. On 8th Sawwal or 25th February, 1702, Abdul Qadir, son of Wazir Khan, was appointed Qiladar of Rohtas in place of Mir Inayatullah but he was very soon removed from that office and appointed Paymaster of the forces of Prince Muizzuddin in Multan. More important than these changes is an event recorded in the Akhbarat, dated 8th March, 1702. "An occurrence in Bihar was reported that Shamshair Khan who had been transferred from the Foujdari of Shahabad to the Subahdari of Oudh had already invested the Fort of Baranwan, the stronghold of mischievous Dhir. When the siege had lasted for one month, Shamshair Khan made an assault upon the fort with the result that at about 1½ Pahar in the night the said mischievous fellow abandoned the Fort and effected his escape. The action was approved."

As Kuar Dhir was an important figure of Bihar and he gave much trouble to the Mughals, it is worthwhile to know something about him. He was a scion of the family of Santanu Singh who is reported to have been a direct descendant of the famous Raja Bhoj of Ujjain in Malwa. Kuar Dhir was directly descended from Dalip Sahi, who was the youngest son of Dullabh Sahi, and the founder of Dalippur in Shahabad District. Dalip was the youngest uterine brother of Raja Sangram Sahi and a step-brother of the famous Gajjan Sahi⁵⁶ or Raja Gajpati of Akbar's day. Dhir was the son of Bikram Sahi⁵⁷ who was the son of Kuar Lal Sahi and grandson of Kuar Bir Sahi. The principality of Bhojpur having devolved on the direct descendants of Raja Sangram Sahi, to Dhir's forefathers had been allowed only the Zamindari of Baranwan in pargana Pero (Shahabad) for maintenance. The revenue of the Zamindari having fallen in arrears under his father, Dhir is said to have been captured and taken to Delhi probably as a hostage. When he was released, he began to collect troops and, despite the remonstrances of his father, he defied

⁵⁶ See the writer's paper entitled "Bihar in the time of Akbar" (published in two instalments) in B. P. P., Calcutta, for the career of Gajpati.

⁵⁷ The whole of this paragraph is practically based on a critical examination of the Contents of Volume III of Tarikh-i-Ujjainia, published by Nawal Kishor Press, Lucknow, and now out of print.

the local official of Pargana Pero and defeated and killed him. The memory of this official, named Ziauddin, is still preserved and his tomb at Pero is known as that of Pir Jawudi. The author of *Tarikh-i-Ujjainia* has given a detailed account of the life and career of Kuar Dhir but it is a mixture of facts and fictions. Dhir is said to have reduced many of the Zamindars of Saran, Champaran and Gaya and his depredations extended upto Jhusi near Allahabad. He crossed swords with the Raja of Majhauili, built a fortress at Barhaj in the dense and impenetrable jungle of Gorakhpur, and measured his strength frequently with the Mughal officials in Bihar. Though Mustaid Khan Saqi is completely silent about him he has been mentioned not only in the *Akhbarats* but also in the works of some other historians as the sequel will show. It seems that on the emperor being informed about the affairs of Dhir and the prowess shown by Shamshair Khan in defeating him and capturing his stronghold he cancelled the orders of Shamshair Khan's transfer to Oudh. We learn from an entry in the *Akhbarat* dated⁵⁸ 10th March, 1702, that Shamshair Khan was not only allowed to retain, as before, the Foujdari of Shahabad and Tirhut but was also ordered to take charge of the Subahdari of the whole province from Fedai Khan who was transferred to Oudh and, subsequently, to Allahabad. The rank of 1500, 1000 of Shamshair Khan was raised by 1000 and 500 Doaspa and he was granted an Inam of 50 lakhs of rupees.

Mohammad Ibrahim, entitled⁵⁹ Shamshair Khan, was the son of Khan-i-Khanan, uterine brother of Daud Khan Quraishi, the conqueror of Palamoon. He first comes frequently into notice as the Foujdar of⁶⁰ various places before his governorship of Bihar which lasted only for a short period of less than a year⁶¹, for on the 14th Ramzan, year 46th, (1114) or 22nd January, 1703, he was transferred to Oudh with the

58 The author of M. A. does not say as to when he was appointed Nazim of Bihar but he says that the Khan was replaced in the Government of Bihar by Prince Azimushan and was appointed Subehdar of Moazzamabad Oudh, in the beginning of year 47th or Ramzan 1114 January, 1703.

59 See the genealogical table given by Moulvi Abdur Rauf Saheb in his article on Daud Khan Quraishi in *Maarif*.

60 *Akhbarat Reyaz-us-Sulatin*; Stewart's Bengal; Quraish's Ancient Monuments of Bihar and Orissa.

61 *Ibid.*

Foujdari of Gorakhpur as an appanage to it, and the province of Bihar was conferred on Prince Azimusshan who had been in charge of the viceroyalty of Bengal and Kuch Bihar⁶² since 1108 or 1696. The prince had got an increase in his rank by 12000,800 (2000 Doaspa) and was given 40 lakhs dam as Inam. At this time he was granted an increase of 1 Kroe 40 lacs dam out of which 80 lacs were allotted to Shahabad⁶³ and another 80 lakhs to Palamoon. On 24th September of the same year 5 Forts including those of Rohtas and Chunar were fixed for keeping the royal artillery in. The Prince has been described as "lazy⁶⁴ and covetous" and ready to concede every thing for sufficient bribe. "For instance in July, 1698, he granted letters patent to the English in Bengal of 3 villages for the sum of Rs. 16,000. In 1700 he accepted a bribe from Mr. Beard. While the indolent prince was turning away from the business⁶⁵ of administration real power was passing into the hands of others, especially those of Kartalab Khan on whom the Emperor was deservedly showing favours after favours.

A forlorn⁶⁶ Brahman lad who had been picked up, patronised and educated by a Persian who named him Mirza Mohammad Hadi, he came into the notice of the emperor by unravelling the tangled web of the Governmental Finances at Berar and got the title of Kartal ab Khan. After serving in the revenue department of the Daccan he was appointed Diwan of Bengal and the Foujdar of Maksudabad on 17th Nov. 1700. Next year the Foujdari of Burdawan and Midnapur and the Diwani of Orissa were also added to his charge. On the 19th October 1701 he was also made Diwan of the Sarkar (Estate) of Prince Azimusshan and on 25th December, 1702, he was given the title of Murshid Quli Khan. On 22nd January, 1703, when Bihar

62 M. A.

63 Akhbarat.

64 Wilson's Annals of Bengal Vol. I

65 Although he had been a favourite grandson of Aurangzeb, the emperor had very often to pull him up or even to upbraid him for certain acts of omission and commission. A rare collection of letters in Persian belonging to the village library of the writer contains a letter which refers to the Prince's neglect of his duties in respect of the enforcement of certain religious regulations of the emperor.

66 Life in M. U. See also Rayazus-Salatin and Stewart.

was added to the prince's viceroyalty of Bengal, Orissa was declared to be a Khalsa territory and Murshid Quli Khan was appointed Naib Subahdar of that province. Finally in January, 1704, he was appointed Diwan of the Subah of Bihar, as well. In the meanwhile the relation⁶⁷ between the prince and his highly competent and masterful Treasurer had become strained and it was due to their constant quarrel that the Emperor ordered the Prince, as is indicated by an entry in the Akhbarat, dated 25th Rabi I, year 47, or 9th July, 1703, to go to Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), leaving his eldest son and half of the contingent of his troops with Murshid Quli Khan at Jahangir Nagar (Dacca). The prince could not have stayed for a long time at Rajmahal for a letter of Ali Quli⁶⁸ Khan tells us that while the Prince was on the way from Dacca to the Subah of Bihar and had encamped at the Thana of Kooch Bihar, the writer waited upon him there and we are informed by the Akhbarat, dated 4th Rabi, II, year 47 or 7th August 1703 that the request of Mahmud Khan, the Qiladar and Foujdar of Monghyr, that he should be allowed to wait on the prince when going to Bihar had been accepted. Though the exact time of Prince's arrival at Patna is not known he must have arrived in Bihar, if not at its capital, early in 1704. At any rate a letter of the English⁶⁹ factors, dated July 12, definitely refers to the Prince's presence at Patna. Inayatullah⁷⁰ writes in a letter to Murshid Quli Khan "Since the Diwanship of Bihar too has been conferred upon you it is not good for you to go to Orissa. You may leave a Deputy there and yourself go to Dacca because Prince Muhammad Azim after leaving Farrukhseyar there has gone to Patna. This letter must have been written shortly after the appointment of Murshid Quli Khan as Diwan of Bihar in January 18, 1704.

The Diwan of Bihar who had been replaced by Murshid Quli Khan was Abul Qasim at whose recommendation the offices⁷¹ of Sultan-gunj and Begumpur in Patna had been conferred on 15th Jamadi I

67 For details see Reyaz and Stewarts Bengal.

68 Mufidul-Insha, compiled by Anchit Rai. See writer's paper in the P. I. H. R. C. Baroda.

69 Wilson's Annals of Bengal (65) Ahkami-i-Alamgiri - Sarkar's ms.

70 The Akhbarat does not clearly mention as to what offices are meant.

71 Akhbarat.

year, 47, or 16th September, 1703, on Darab Khan, consequent on the death of Muhammad Rashid, the converted Muslim, who had held it. Probably Abul Qasim had been appointed Diwan of Bihar on the death of Ahmad Ali⁷² Khan. Inayatullah in a letter to Prince Azim-us shan writes on behalf of the Emperor "The Diwani⁷³ of the Subah of Bihar has been taken away from Abul Qasim Khan against whom the inhabitants of Bihar have complained and who is hard pressed by those people. Give the post in addition to other duty to Murshid Quli Khan. That Khan should appoint some one as his deputy. Order the Naib Diwan of your household who is in that province to act also as the Naib of Murshid Quli Khan, Diwan of Bihar. Send Abul Qasim under escort to Allahabad to save him from the people of Bihar".

As regards the other officials who served under prince Azimusshan in Bihar, the Akhbarat tells us that Abid Khan, the Faujdar of Tajpur Purneah, was entitled Obaidullah Khan and he was exalted with a rank of 1500,400 on 20th December, 1703. Mutallib Khan, the Deputy of Khan Bahadur Nasrat⁷⁴ Jung, was appointed, at the request of the latter, on the 10th August, 1703, as the Foujdar of Bhalawar, in Bihar which was in the Jagir of the said Khan. Yusuf Beg Khan, the dismissed First Bukshi of the Prince's household, was appointed Foujdar of Saran in place of Ismatullah, son of Tabawwar Khan, the deceased, on 18th October, 1704. Amanullah, son of Muhammad Beg Khan the deceased, the custodian of the fort and the Foujdar of Monghyr, was given an increase of 300,50 to his rank of 250,50 on 3rd February 1704. Mohammad Baqar, sister's son of Sibghatullah, was sent to Bihar as an official on 25 May 1704. Fazil, the Kotwal of Bihar, who had been dismissed, was reinstated on July 14, 1703. Mirza Khalil,⁷⁵ the news-write of Bihar, was replaced by Mohammad Baqar, son of Sadat Khan. Mohammad Afaq⁷⁶ was the Amin of Jizya collection in Bihar. Sarfaraz Khan replaced

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Ahkam. Sarkar's ms

⁷⁴ Zulfikar Khan, the son of the Vazir Asad Khan, who held the office of the premier noble and the first Pay master of the forces.

⁷⁵ A valuable Bayaz compiled by Mohammad Ali contain some of the poetical effusions of Mirza Khalil. He has also been mentioned as Waqa-i-Nawis in the letters of Ali Quli Khan (Mufidul Insha)

⁷⁶ Akhbarat.

Akram⁷⁷ as the Foujdar of Shahabad and Imitiaz Khan⁷⁸ Khalis. was at first Waqi Nawis and later the Diwan of Bihar.

Inayatullah Khan furnishes us with certain facts relating to the affairs of the province during the stay of the prince. In a letter to the Prince he writes "Asad Khan's (the Wazir's) Jagirs are mostly in the Subah of Bihar; protect them." Similar order was issued for the protection of the Jagirs of the Premier noble (Zulfiqar Khan) which lay in the parganah of Hajipur and of the Jagir of Khuda Banda Khan which was situated in the pergana of Dharampur in the Subah of Bihar. The Prince was also ordered to send Banu, the daughter of Muhammad Ihsan, grandson of Shah Nawaz Khan, the deceased, who was in Bihar, under escort to Delhi, after providing her with the expenses of the journey. In another letter he writes to the Prince that it had been submitted to His Majesty that the late Buzurgummed Khan had kept Muhammad Juraif, sister's son of Aiman Afridi, confined in Rohtas Fort on suspicions. His heirs had in their possessions a Mahzar signed by the Qazi of that place testifying to his innocence. The records of the imperial Diwani showed that in the regnal year 32, he was ordered to be imprisoned in the fort of Rohtas on the charge that he was harbouring ill will against his relations and was creating mischief. The Emperor ordered that he should send his dependants soon to the court under proper escort. The letter of Inayatullah also refers to the procedure suggested for sending the treasurers of the eastern provinces to the court. The Prince had proposed that the sending of the revenues by Hundis and sending coins on carts delayed their arrival and they remained stationary at Delhi and other towns for a long time. The Emperor replied that 80 or 90 lakhs of rupees had long accumulated in Bihar and

77 Ahkam.

78 Syed Husain, entitled Imtiaz Khan, and poetically named Khalis, was a Razvi Syed of Iran. Brindabandass Khusgo says, that Khalis on coming to India attracted the notice of Emperor, Aurangzeb, who married him with the daughter of Mir Hadi, alias Fazail Khan, who was the Imperial Mir Munshi and later Mir-i Saman". The Khan was the Diwan of Patna when Prince Azimus-shan was the Governor of Bihar". His "Haveli on the bank of the Ganges still stands in all its glory" says Khusgo. He was a fine and an experienced poet and left a Voluminous Diwan. It is interesting to know that Imtiaz Khan was the grandfather of the famous Nawab Mir Qasim of Bengal.

Akbarnagar and in sending it by Hundis there was also a great delay and, therefore, the Prince was ordered to send it by cart under strong escort to Delhi in as much quantity as possible. The Prince was further directed to send a little by Hundi and the major portion in carts as soon as the treasurers and Nazranas reached Bihar from Bengal.

By far the most important references in the Ahkam are those which relate to the affairs of Kuar Dhir and his suppression and death. Inayatullah writes to the Prince "I have placed before His Majesty your letter reporting your (good) administration of the Subah of Bengal and Bihar, the punishment of the rebels, the destruction of their forts, and the uprooting of Dhir (Ujjainia) and his fleeing to some Mahals of the Subah of Allahabad for refuge. Your rank is increased by 2000 troops". Later he writes "the Emperor has learnt from your letter about the coming of Dhir, the visit of his son to you, your intention of demolishing his fortifications around the fort of Rohtas, the punishment of the rebels of Bihar and other matters". In another letter Inayatullah refers to the letters of the Prince, one relating to the disposal of the affairs of the mischievous Dhir and his taking refuge in a distressed condition, with the Zamindars of the Subah of Allahabad, the other concerning the rolls of the Salaries of the previous Nazims of the Subah of Bihar, and the third, written in reply to the Hasbul Kukum regarding Mohammad Khalil and Mohammad Raza, sons of Husain Khan, the deceased, and the last about the despatch of Mohammad Afaq, the dismissed Amin for the collection of Jizya in Bihar. Unfortunately, we know of no other source to corroborate and elucidate the apparently important points referred to here. As regards Dhir, the author of Tarikh-i-Ujjainia, who is an uncritical panegyrist of the Rajputs of Shahabad does not refer to any discomfiture of Dhir at the hands of the Mughals. On the other hand, at one place, referring to the events of 1126/1714 he says that Dhir had thrown the Subah into commotion for the last 20 years. Elsewhere he writes that when Kuar Dhir became very powerful, the generals of the Nazim refused to face him, Raja Rudra Singh of Buxar and Bhojpur was induced to fight against him, and in reply to a letter sent by the Raja, Kuar Dhir boasted that he, the son of Bikram and the grandson of Lal Sahi, had harassed 22 Omrahs and 24 Rajas by fighting

against them, had fought, while young, at Arrah, had annihilated the forces of the Nawab at the battle of Jhusi, and driven out Nawab Haqiqat Khan Punjabi across the river Son. We are told that the Nazim of Bihar decided to take action against Dhir on the appeal of Nand Sahi Jaithra, the ousted proprietor of Bettiah, and because Dhir had taken possession of Holo Konwari, an imperial village near Bettiah. After a close fight, which is said to have taken place at Martand, Dhir fled to Nagara sacking and laying waste every thing that lay in the way. The Raja pursued him and with the help of the Zamindar of Nagra⁷⁹ forced Dhir to evacuate the place and turn towards Mau⁸⁰. At last he made peace with the Raja and abandoned Holo Kunwari. The author of *Tarikh-i-Ujjainia* makes no mention of Prince Azimusshan and the defeat of Dhir at his hands and his escape to the region of Allahabad, nor to the submission of Dhir and the visit of his son to the Prince referred to in the *Ahkamat-i-Alamgiri*. According to him Dhir died of fever in 1712 and was succeeded by his son, Sidhist Narayan. The authors of *Ibrat*⁸¹ Nama and of *Hadiqt-ul-Aqalim*⁸² write about Dhir's activities during the time of Farukhseyar, and, while the former says that Mir Jumla was ordered to suppress "the inherently wicked Dhir who had for the last 20 years been following the path of rebellion and mischiefs in the Subah of Bihar and had never been adequately punished by any of the Subadars of the province", the latter refers to the final suppression of Dhir by Nawab Sarbuland Khan⁸³ and his lieutenants, Shaikh Abdullah⁸⁴ and Shaikh Ilah Yar Khan Usmani. All these writers have confused Dhir with his son, Sidhist⁸⁵ Narayan

79 There is a place of this name in the Saran district of Bihar but probably it is Nagra in Ballia district in U. P. which is meant here.

80 A well known place in U. P.

81 By Moatamad Khan. It is in O. P. L., Patna.

82 It is in O. P. L., Patna. The author's father took part in the Campaign against Dhir (or Siddhist Narayan).

83 Kamwar Khan, the author of *Taz Kira-i-Salatin-i-chaghta*, (Kujhwams) also refers to Dhir and his suppression by Sarbuland Khan.

84 A well-known figure in the 18th century of Bihar and U. P. He was the Foujdar of Ghazipur and had built the famous palace described by oldham and others. His descendants are still found in Gulzarbagh, Patna City.

85 See Wilson Annals of Bengal and references to Siddhist Narayan in connection with the embassy of John Surman.

for Inayatullah, a more reliable authority, refers to the report of Prince Azimusshan about Dhir being slain and to his request that Sarfaraz Khan should be appointed in place of Akram Khan." This must have happened long before the departure of Prince Azimusshan from Bihar and the death of the Emperor which occurred in March, 1707.

Khafi⁸⁶ Khan and Shah Nawaz Khan⁸⁷ say that the Prince had been summoned by his grandfather to the Deccan at the instance of his jealous uncle, Prince Azam Shah, who had heard of the immense wealth and other resources which the son of his elder and rival brother, Muazzam, had gathered in Bihar. Patna, during the short period of a little more than three years that the Prince resided here, had assumed a new shape and a new name. Inayatullah in a letter to the Prince writes "the Emperor sanctions your proposal to name Patna City Azimabad". The Prince did much to improve and beautify the City which still bears his name. According to Ain-Akbari Patna had 2 forts, one of bricks and the other of mud. The fort visited by Hamilton had an inscription which attributed its erection to Firuz Jung. This was the famous Abdullah Khan, a Governor of Bihar, during the time of Emperor⁸⁸ Jahangir. Perhaps, he repaired and strengthened the fortifications and fixed a slab attempting to commemorate his name. The fort underwent much repair and enlargement at the hands of successive Governors, particularly Prince Azimusshan. The old City was entered by 2 gates, on the west and on the east, and the eastern and the western walls were washed by the waters of the moats. Unfortunately all these have now disappeared. The prince is reputed to have divided the old walled City into a number of wards which were called Kaiwan Shikoh, Mughal Pura, Lodi Katra, Diwan Mahalla, named after the classes of people who resided there. The first of these contained the palace of the prince and the residential houses of big Omarahs and chiefs but it is now deserted and is known as Kawwa Kho. The Prince invited learned people, poets and Scholars from far and near to the City which he named after himself and

86 Mun ta Khab ul lubal

87 Maasir-ul-Umara.

88 See the writer's pape in the P. I. H. C. Aligarh.

which he wanted to make a second Delhi. Azimabad was in a very flourishing condition when he had to leave it for good, shortly before the death of the Emperor.

The paper having already become too long, aspects other than political, have to be held over for the present. With the help of incidental notices of persons and events in contemporary works, historical or otherwise, and the numerous Farmans which the writer has seen and discovered, and the copies⁸⁹ of some of which have been secured for the Museum Section of the Historical Society of Patna College, some light could be thrown on social and religious condition of the province during the long reign of emperor Aurangzeb. Eminent Biharees like Shaikh Raziuddin or Raziuddin Khan of Bhagalpur who according to Mustaid Khan Saqi was a man of profound scholarship and a versatile genius who not only helped the compilation of the famous Fatawa-i-Alamgiri but also proved to be a good soldier and an able administrator, and Mullah Jiwan and Mullah Azizullah,⁹⁰ son of Mullah Mubarak⁹¹, who for many years acted as a tutor to Princess Zebunnissa,⁹² the talented daughter of Aurangzeb, and was well versed in many branches of learning, specially logic and literature, could have been mentioned. With the help of the observations of the men of the E. I. C, preserved in the Factory Records, an attempt could have been made to give an idea of the economic condition of the province. But these and other matters must be dealt with elsewhere on a subsequent occasion.

89 There is an official copy of a sanad bearing the seals of Qazi Amanullah (1190 A. H.) and of Mohammad Suhrab Fidvi of Shahzada Mohammad Azim, dated 14th Safar, year 49 or 26 May, 1705, confirming certain grants to the mausoleum at Jaruha

90 See the biographical dictionaries of Persian poets, particularly Taz Kirā-i-Nashter-i-Ishq p. 1206.

91 A Farman of Aurangzeb discovered by the writer in the Bari Khankah of Maner Sharif refers to the Mulla. ?

92 A document in her handwriting is said to still exist in a Khankah, of Darbhanga.

WAS ANANTADEVĪ, MOTHER OF SKANDA GUPTA ?

By TARAPADA BHATTACHARYYA, M. A.

There is a great controversy among scholars regarding the name of the mother of Skanda Gupta, the Gupta Emperor (A. D. 455—467), and as to whether Skanda Gupta and Puru Gupta were step-brothers. Puru Gupta's mother was Anantadevī. It has been suggested that Skanda Gupta's mother was not the Mahādevī (Anantadevī). Some scholars have even held that Skanda Gupta's mother was Devakdevī, another wife of Kumara Gupta.

Regarding this matter, attention may be drawn to the two Gadh Inscriptions of the Gupta period—No. 64 and 66 of Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions (C. I. Indicarum, Vol. iii, p. 264 and p. 267 respectively).

The first inscription which is undated is supposed by Fleet to have been of Kumara Gupta I, the letters 'Sr' and 'Ku' in 11 indicating it. In 15 of the inscription we have another name 'Ananta Guptā' which, according to Fleet, was evidently "belonging to some private person" (Fleet was not aware of Anantadevī).

The second inscription, dated A. D. 467-68, refers to the establishment of a temple of a god (?) named Anantaswāmī. This inscription thus belongs either to the last year of Skanda Gupta's rule or the first year of Puru Gupta's accession. As the inscription is dated in the month of Māgha (January-February) *i. e.* just the beginning of 467 A. D. (which is also the latest known year of Skanda Gupta's reign), it is probable that it was of the reign of Skanda Gupta.

The name 'Ananta Guptā' in the first inscription may not be the name of a private person, but that of Kumarā Gupta's queen, mother of Puru Gupta.

Similarly, the god 'Anantaswāmī' of the second inscription may mean a god installed by Ananta (the name being given after the name of the Queen, the mother of the ruling king). It may also refer to the installation of the figure not of a god, but of "the Lord (husband)

of Ananta ”. This latter meaning is not improbable ; for the building where this image was installed is called in the inscription a ‘Vadabhi’ (Balabhī-Balcony) and not a ‘Prāsāda’ which is the general name of temples in the Gupta inscriptions. The inscription might refer to the installation of a figure of Kumara Gupta in a part of the temple as is also evident from the latter part of the inscription. Whatever might be the meaning of the word ‘Anantaswāmī’, the word is undoubtedly very significant and the image erected must have some connection with Anantadevī, the queen of Kumara Gupta I. It might be that the image was erected either by Anantadevī herself in honour of her husband, or by Skanda Gupta in honour of his mother and father. In the first case, the two inscriptions at Gadghwa read together will lead to the conclusion that Anantadevī was erecting temples in the Allahabad district, even during the latest years of Skanda Gupta. In the second case, the inscription will show that Puru Gupta’s mother Anantadevī was respected by Skanda Gupta, perhaps because she was also his mother. She was still in good relations with Skanda Gupta.

Moreover, if Anantadevī was alive in 467-68, either she was very old at that time or that she was married by Kumara Gupta in a late age. In the latter case she perhaps could not have been the Māhadevī, as she is known to be from the Seals. It is therefore unlikely that Kumara Gupta had any wife other than Anantadevī. Anantadevī was perhaps the mother of both Skanda Gupta and Puru Gupta. The short reigns of Puru Gupta and his successors may also be thus explained.

SANTAL FOLK SONGS.

By SUNITY KUMAR SINHA, M. A.

Song reflects more directly the feelings and passions of men than words, however poetic they may be. Passionate throbbings of a human heart seek artistic expression for which songs form the most suitable vehicle. It is not the monopoly of the rich only, the poor may as well sing, and so the poor, simple, and innocent Santals sing and dance to forget their woes and miseries. It plays a very important part in their life. They are born singers and at every step of their life there is song. They sing when a child is born, they sing when he is married and sing the mourning song when one dies. Songs are the most essential features of the festivals of the folk, wherein are sung the praises of Spring, the union of youth and joy and the like.

Santal songs are of various types and some of them are accompanied by music and dance. The songs which are accompanied by dance are Lagrô, Doi, Guluari, Dahar, Daha, Rinja, Vinsar, Jhika, Humti, Gunjar, Sohrae, Lobeo, Dunger, Durumjak, Tundum, Thabur and Jatur. The songs which are not accompanied by dance are Bir, Horo rohoe, Bapla binti and Morna.

The composers of the songs are not known. Some of the songs are very old. The songs are either highly philosophical or vulgar.

Some of the songs are the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings and full of deep thoughts, emotions and sentiments. The Santals are hedonists and the philosophy of their life is "Eat, Drink and be merry", for life is short and after death there is no merriment. Here are a few songs which convey this reflection towards life like those of Omar Khayam and Epicurus.

- (i) We shall eat, drink and be merry
For our souls are of air and body of clay,

And there is no happiness after our death.
There is happiness so long we stand here on this earth.
Our life is ephemeral like the water in an Arum-leaf.
The morning dew drop will not linger.

(ii) The whirlwind will rise up in
A moment and will reach the up-countries.
The water in the Arum-leaf will fall in a moment.
Similarly our life will extinguish
In the twinkling of an eye.

(iii) You will go to the same place
From where you have come
Clouds rise from the sea
And fall as rains, making
The river full to its brim.
The water of the river flows gently and slowly
And reaches the sea
From where it came.

The Santals though poor are very hospitable. In the following song a Santal laments for his inability to satisfy his guest. This song also depicts two aspects of human life. A rich man is going to enjoy a marriage feast when an underfed and depressed poor is thinking of his poverty and it pains us most when we find the rich asking for something from the poor which he is unable to give. The song runs thus :—

“ A rich bridegroom's party is passing through
Our courtyard and they are asking for
Cigar, Match-box and fire from me
But where shall I get them ?
I am a poor man.”

Some of the Santal songs are allegorical. Here is one of them the central theme of which is that a young boy falls in love with the daughter of the village headman of whom he is very much afraid. He cannot meet his love and sings,

“ There is a full blossomed flower
In the compound of the village headman
Oh ! how shall I reach it ?

It is fenced with sticks, it is guarded by thorns.

Oh ! how shall I reach it ?”

The Santals want to enjoy the life as it is. The rustic folk have not yet developed among themselves love for erudition. They think that a scholar neglects the secular life and always engages himself in deep studies and educational tours. Therefore a young Santal girl not being satisfied with her educated husband sings in melancholy:

“ My parents knowing full well
Gave me to a scholar. The scholar
travelled the whole country with books
On his head and became tired and exhausted. ”

Love too plays a prominent part in many of the Santal songs. They charm the people when sung with proper tune, pause and accent. Here is a typical love song.

“ Why Oh ! darling,
Dost thou weep
On the mountain peak ?
Why so sad thou art
And what is that thought ?
Come down my love
I shall give thee comfort.”

Another form of song, is the song *amoebacan* or question and reply. Here are some of them,

(1) You are by the side of a river
Whereas the cows are in the fields
I think you are in search of your beloved.

Answer :—There is chaos and confusion and I am upset
Please don't chastise me mother, the source of
milk (life)
Mother I am busy with books ”

Question :—(2) Oh ! brother (husband's elder brother), please tell me
how far our home is ?

Answer :—Sister, do you see that hill named Logo ?
That is just on the midway between this place and
our home.

Nature too plays a great part in the Santal folk songs. The spring brings to a Santal heart the passion for love and union in marriage. The lover sees joy everywhere around him, in the musical instruments, among the birds, in his ring and garland and bursts forth :

“ The cock crows, the peacock cries.
Oh ! Maina, thou awake.
My garland is speaking,
My ring is laughing,
And the medals (drums) seem alive.”

Elsewhere we find a song which speaks of the advent of both the summer and the rainy season. When the Pio (Hawk-cuckoo) bird sings hot and airy summer days come, and when the frogs croak the rains come. The song runs thus,

“ The Pio bird sang over
the mountain top.
The airy and hot days have reached
The Banyan trees and the Palash woods,
The frogs croaked under the water.
The rainy season is now come.”

We find an echo of this song in one of the oldest English lyric, a fragment of which begins,

“ Summer is y-comen in
Loud sing, Cuckoo !
Groweth seed and bloweth mead,
And springeth the wood new.
Sing Cuckoo ! Cuckoo ! ”

The distinguishing elements of these folk-songs are, simplicity, lucidity, emotion, repetition, refrain, question and answer and rustic satire. The refrain is often meaningless as we find in the Horo-rohoe (paddy-sowing) songs,

“ Tahareta morna torna tahareta nana ho
Tahareta nana ho. ”

These songs reveal the life of the Santals. They reveal their taste for hunting, respect for religious and social customs and love of nature. Santal Parganas, where chiefly the Santals live is a hilly

tract and standing against such a background they sing songs which depict the high hills, the wild valleys and the vast forests of the land of their hearts' desire.

Most of the songs are in pure and classical Santali language. Some of the songs are in Bengali and some are the mixture of both Bengali and Santali. *

* This article is not, however, exhaustive. In this short sketch I have endeavoured to show the gamut of emotion of the poor, simple and downtrodden Santals.

Reviews and Notices of Books

THE FOUNDATION OF MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA. *By*
A. B. M. Habibullah, M.A., Ph.D. (London), F. L. A., Department of Islamic History and Culture, Calcutta University.
Published by Sh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore.
PP. 345+xi, 1945. Price Rs. 15.

This book, an approved Ph. D. thesis of the University of London, traces the "history of the establishment and progress of the Turkish Sultanate of Delhi: 1200-1290 A. D.". It fills up a gap in one period of our country's history. The 13th century "witnessed not only the gradual shaping of a State-system but also the beginnings of many of the factors that constituted the composite culture and society of Mediaeval India" (P. 5.). The author claims "to have neglected and failed to co-ordinate no Indian evidence, epigraphic, numismatic or literary". In chapter I (Introductory) the author explains the scope of the work and critically discusses the sources. Chapter II discusses the Central Asian and North Indian background of the "initial Conquest" of Northern India by the Ghorides (Ch. III). The next 6 chapters deal with the political history of the Delhi Sultans, whom the author designates as the Memelukes and not as Slaves. The treatment combines the chronological with the topical method. Chapter IV covers the period from the death of Muizuddin to the death of Iltutmish; chapter V deals with the dynastic troubles and rebellions during the next thirty years; chapter VI traces the story of Hindu aggression which forms "the dominant feature in the period following Iltutmish's death". The epoch of Balban's rule has been characterised as the period of "Security and Consolidation" (Ch. VII), which was followed by the "End of the Memeluke dynasty" (Ch. VIII). The eternal problem of defence of India in the North-west has been made the theme of separate chapter (IX). The next 5 chapters (X-XIV) are devoted to a critical exposition of the administrative system. Chapter XV deals with Society and Culture of the period, while the condition of the Protected People (*Zimmi*) is delineated in chapter

XVI. In the concluding chapter XVII (the Sultanate in retrospect), the author discusses the causes of the invaders' easy success, and analyses the character of the Turkish conquest and of the Turkish state, which, in his opinion, though Islamic in theory, was secular in practice.

Appendix D, contains a discussion of the architectural monuments of the Memelukes.

The book has received well-merited appreciation of Sir Jadunath Sarkar as "a piece of research of outstanding merit.....characterised by unusual freshness of thought, wide range of search and soundness of conclusions....No other thesis on Indo-Muslim history known to me surpasses and very few approach Dr. Habibullah's mastery of the art of presentation and the distinction.....of his English prose style which combines to make this book charming to read and easy to remember". Three illustrations, three maps and 5 appendices including a bibliography and an index enhance the value of the book. There are printing mistakes for which author has offered an apology.

The 18th September 1946.

Jagadish Narayan Sarkar.

THE VAIṢṆAVOPANIṢADS translated into English by Śrī T. R.

Śrīnivāsa Ayyangar, B. A., L. T. and edited by G Śrīnivāsa Mūrti; Pp. xxi + 498 ; published by The Adyar Library, Adyar Madras , 1945 ; price Rs. 10 (cloth).

This valuable work is the third of the series of " English Translations of the One Hundred and Eight Upaniṣads planned by the Adyar Library ". The translation is based on the commentary of Śrī Upaniṣad Brahmayogin. As the Advaita School of Śankara is the most widely known school of the Vedānta , the Upaniṣads which lend ready support to pure monism have received more attention. This work does, therefore, a great service by presenting to English readers in one volume 14 Upaniṣads which supply the foundation of the Theistic schools of the Vedānta. Apart from the philosophical background of theism , the book also contains much useful information about the actual process of spiritual culture (sādhanā), and the mantras adopted for the purpose by the various theistic cults such as those of kṛṣṇa , Rāma, Dattātreya. The book will be valued by both the scholar and the mystic.

2. KENOPANIṢHAD-BHĀSHYA by Sri Rangaramanuja, critically edited with English Introduction , translation and notes , by Dr. K. C. Varadachari , M. A. , Ph. D. and D. T. Tatacharya , Śiromani , M. O. L. (Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Series), Tirupati, Madras; (Pp. x +22+18, price Rs. 2); 1945.

This small book contains the Sanskrit texts of the famous Kena Upaniṣad and the commentary of Sri Rangarāmānuja. Both of these are also translated into English. The English introduction gives the salient points of the Upaniṣad. The texts have been critically determined by reference to other editions. The English translation is not always very happy (e. g. ' conscient ' for ' chetana ', ' revealment ' for ' prakāśa ', ' goose-berry ' for ' āmalaka).

But the chief point of interest which entitles the book to

attention is that it contains a non-advaita interpretation of the Kena. The commentator, Śrī Rangarāmānuja was a follower of the great Rāmānuja. Those who are familiar with the popular Advaita interpretation of Śankara will find here how the Kena can be interpreted from the theistic standpoint of Rāmānuja. The authors have done well by making this commentary available in English.

3. SUVARNA-SAPTATI-SASTRA, Śākhya-kārikā-saptati of svara kṛṣṇa, with a commentary—Reconstructed into Sanskrit from the Chinese Translation of Paramārtha and edited with English notes, Introduction and Appendices by N. Aiyaswami Sastri, Reader in Sanskrit Sri Venkaṭeshwara Oriental Institute, Tirupati (Member, Sino-Indian Cultural Society , India), with a Foreword by Prof. P. P. Subrahmanya Sastri, B. A. (Oxon.), M. A. (Madras). Pp. xlvī + 112 ; published by Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanams Press , Tirupati, he 1944; Price Rs. 6.

This work is the fruit of the comparative study of Chinese and Sanskrit and the reconstruction, from the Chinese translation, of an important Sanskrit text the original of which is now lost in India. Sākhya-kārika is recognised as the oldest and the basic work of the Sākhya school , no other books of greater antiquity being available now, though reference is made to some such books by Sākhya works. It appears this work was faithfully rendered into Chinese by a Buddhist scholar , Paramārtha who also appended to it the translation of a commentary on this Kārikā. The name of the author of this original commentary is not mentioned by him. There has , therefore , been a lot of speculation regarding the identity of this commentary and rival hypotheses have been put forward by many important scholars. Mr. Aiyaswami Sastri has tried to settle this controversy in the Introduction of the book under review , identifying the commentary in question to be the same as Māṭhara-bhāṣya , a commentary of the Kārikā. This Chinese work was rendered into French by M. Takakusu. The late Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri of Madras University rendered this French version into English in 1933. It is

a happy thing that we have now the Sanskrit version of the work before us again — a lost treasure of India restored to India by an Indian scholar to whom, therefore, we should be much grateful.

Apart from textual and historical considerations, this work will enable a student of Sāṅkhya philosophy to understand the doctrine better in the light of the many new illustrations, explanations and arguments which cannot be had in the existing Sanskrit commentaries of the Sāṅkhya-kārika. No library containing books on Indian philosophy should be without a copy of this important work. That is the least we can do to repay our debts to such selfless scholars who devote their lives to the recovery of the lost treasures of India and incidentally serve to strengthen once again the cultural ties between China and India.

PATNA COLLEGE

DHIRENDRA MOHAN DATTA.

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS : Vol. I (1757—1858). and Vol. II (1858—1945). Edited by Anil Chandra Banerjee, M. A., P. R. S., Lecturer, Calcutta University. Published by A. Mukherjee & Co., 2, College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 7 and Rs. 12 respectively.

Indian Constitutional history is a subject of absorbing interest at the present moment, for the future constitution of India is in the making. Prof. Banerjee modestly claims that these two volumes containing a large number of interesting and important documents are intended to facilitate the study of Indian Constitutional history. Prof. Banerjee has contributed to each volume an Introduction containing a stimulating survey of the broad features of Indian Constitutional history, and also an Appendix containing very useful Notes and References. His aim is, obviously, to help the reader in understanding the documents and in estimating their value from historical and constitutional standpoints. This aim has been well realised: the reader has received guidance but he has been left free to form his own judgment.

Before the publication of these volumes we had two well-known collections of Indian Constitutional Documents—those edited by Keith and P. Mukherjee. Keith and P. Mukherjee concluded their works with the Mont-Ford Reforms. Mr. Banerjee has covered the period down to 1945. As the works of Keith and Mukherjee have not been, and are not likely to be, brought up-to-date, Mr. Banerjee's volumes will remain indispensable to all students of Indian constitutional history.

Mr. Banerjee's book rightly points out that the development of a constitutional system and the ramifications of an ever-growing administrative machinery cannot be understood simply from an analysis of legislative enactments. So he has selected for inclusion in his volumes not only well-known legislative enactments like the Regulating Act and the Government of India Acts, but has also collected documents of various types—speeches, despatches, minutes, diaries, private letters, treaties, extracts from official reports, etc. Administrative history has

been given due prominence, especially in Volume I ; perhaps lack of space prevented him from devoting more attention to this important subject. In Volume II copious extracts from speeches and documents connected with the Congress and the League have been included in order to illustrate the growth of the Nationalist Movement and the development of political thought in India.

Mr. Banerjee has illustrated through well chosen documents the growth of British policy towards this States. In these days this aspect certainly requires emphasis.

While the Editor deserves congratulations for the industry and breadth of view revealed in the selection of documents, the Publishers are to be congratulated on the nice get-up and printing of these volumes in these hard days.

K. K. Datta.

- कृष्ण 1.28 fn.; 2.10, 12; 3.13
 कृष्णायस् 6.12
 कृष्णार्जक 11.28
 केका 20.42
 केकिन् 20.31, 41
 केतक 11.17
 केतकी 11.16
 केतुरत्न 5.19
 केयूर 22 21
 केश 22 29; 23.116, 132, 254
 केशनामन् 11.16
 केशर 1.19; 6.49 fn.; 11 41, 43; 23.265,
 277
 केशराज 10.43
 केशरिन् 20.50
 केशवप्रिया 4.22
 केशिक 13. 3
 केशी 15. 37, 38
 केशीक 13.3 fn.
 कैटर्य 2. 21; 14. 8
 कैदार 1. 42
 कैरव 3.10; 13.24
 कैरवी 2.27
 कैरात 3.19
 कोकदन्ता 15. 28 fn.
 कोकनद 13. 22
 कोकिल 20. 32, 45
 कोकिलाक्ष 10. 44
 कोद्व 19. 1, 10, 11; 23. 28
 कोरक 23. 147
 कोरदूष 19. 10
 कोरिसद् 9. 19 fn.
 कोभिमेद् 9. 19
 कोल 8. 26 fn.; 20. 35; 23. 171
 कोलक 1. 30
 कोलवल्ली 3. 60
 कोला 2. 12; 3. 41
 कोलि 8. 3, 26
 कोविदार 11. 24
 कोशलाह 9. 29 fn.
 कोशातकी 12. 17
 कोशाम्बी 18. 21 fn.
 कोशाम्बि 18. 2
 कोष 1. 4
 कोषफल 1. 31
 कोषफला 8. 12; 17. 26
 कोषलाह 9. 3, 29 fn.
 कोषातकी 12. 16
 कोषाम्बी 18. 21 fn.
 कोष्ण 21. 29; 23. 201
 कोसनाह 9. 29
 कोसम्बी 18. 21
 कोहली 23. 103
 कौटज 3. 54
 कौटवीण 23. 28
 कौन्ती 3. 8
 कौमुदी 23. 79
 कौलत्थ 20. 18
 कौशिक 4. 27; 20. 55; 23. 268
 कौशम्बी 18. 21 fn.
 कौशेय 22. 10
 कौसुम्म 6. 23

ककर 15. 3, 27

कलु 23. 230

कन्दन 22. 63, 83

कमीलक 18. 13

कमुक 7. 16

कमेलक 22. 78

कव्य 23. 119

क्रिमिन्न 3. 9

क्रिमिघ्ना 4. 26

क्रिमिरिपु 3. 1

क्रिमिशत्रु 3. 10

किल (?) 18. 15 fn.

कुञ्ज 20. 66 fn.

कुध् 23. 230

कोञ्च 20. 66

कोष्टु 7. 3; 10. 34; 20. 48 fn.

कोष्टुक 20. 48 fn.

कोष्टुकमेखला 10. 26

कोष्टुनामन् 7. 33

कोष्टुपुच्छिका 10. 25

कोष्टू 10. 34 fn.

कोष्ट्री 13. 7

कौञ्च 20. 36, 66 fn.

कलीतक 7. 17

क्षण 23. 53, 57

क्षतज 23. 118

क्षत्रामलकी 13. 14 fn.

क्षयनाशिनी 3. 34

क्षव 9. 37

क्षत्र 23. 18

क्षार 4. 13; 23. 83, 155

क्षारक 23. 147

क्षारत्रय 4. 12

क्षारद्रु 16. 7

क्षारमध्य 10. 30

क्षारमृत्तिका 23. 30

क्षिति 23. 8, 21

क्षिप्रपाकिन् 15. 6

[क्षीव] 23. 108

क्षीर 21. 4, 36

क्षीरकञ्चुकिन् 15. 14 fn.

क्षीरकाकोली 3. 44, 52

क्षीरज 21. 38 fn

क्षीरदात्री 23. 257

क्षीरमोरट 14. 33

क्षीरवत् 14. 33

क्षीरविदारी 13. 8

क्षीरवृक्ष 7. 13

क्षीरशुक्ला 7. 39; 13. 6

क्षीरसन्तान 21. 37

क्षीरिका 9. 30 fn.; 20. 15

क्षीरिन् 7. 2; 14. 3

क्षीरिवृक्ष 7. 13 fn.

क्षीरी 15. 2, 13

क्षीरीश 15. 14 fn.

क्षुद्र 2. 21

क्षुद्रकण्ट 13. 4

क्षुद्रद्रु 9. 33

क्षुद्रवज्रक 5. 11

क्षुद्रश्वेता 2. 21 fn.

क्षुद्रसहा 17. 14

क्षुद्रा 10. 20; 16. 2, 17

चुधाभिजनक 9.37	खदिरा 15.22
चुमा 3.21	खपुर 7.16
चुर 10.3	खर 21.28;22.79;23.239
चुरक 10.44	खरकन्द 15.14 fn
चुरिका 9.30	खरकृद् 16.14
क्षेडघोषफला (?) 17.26 fn.	खरधन्वनिका 3.59
क्षेत्र 23.16,26,27,28,256	खरपल्लव 14.28
क्षेत्रामलकी 13.14	खरमञ्जरी 10.30
क्षेत्रेक्षु 18.26	खरस्वरा 11.11
क्षोद 22.65	खरागरी 14.17
क्षौणि 23.8	खर्जूर 6.8;7.3
क्षौद्र 7.32	खजूरी 7.24;23.105
क्षौम 22.10	खपर 7.16 fn.
क्षमा 23.7	खर्परी 6.28
क्षमाफेन 4.1	खर्पर 1.16fn.
क्षमाभृत् 21.20	खसकन्द 15.16 fn.
क्षयेडकन्द 11.36 fn.	खात 21.16
क्षवेड 3.45;6.41;17.26	खाद्य 20.6
क्षवेडकन्द 11.36	खारिक 23.24
ख 23.43	खारिवाप 23.24
खग 20.67	खारी 23.183
खजाका 23.194	खार्जूर 23.105
खटी 6.31	खिल 23.22
खटीकन्द 15.14	खुडक 14.17 fn.
खट्वा 22.2;23	खुडाक 14.17 fn.
खडी 6.31	खुड्वाक 14.17
खड्ग 20.60	खुल्लवज्जक 5.11 fn.
खड्गिन् 20.35,60	खेड 3.45 fn.
खण्ड 23 223	खोषलाह 9.29 fn
खण्डिक 18.3	खोसाहक 9.29 fn.
खदि 4.1,18;23.18	गगन 23.43,219

गज 22.76; 23. 77
 गङ्गा 21.9
 गजचिह्नटी 17.29 fn.
 गजपिप्पली 23.252
 गजविभ्रमा 17.29
 गजाशान 14.24
 गजाशाना 16.8
 गजाह्वा 3.60
 गणरूपक 11.14 fn.
 गणरूपिका 11.14
 गणिका 11.42; 22.48
 गणिकरिका 14.7
 गण्डक 20.60
 गण्डकारी 15.22
 गण्डमाली 15. 22 fn.
 गण्डगी 3.15
 गण्डरी 3.15 fn.; 7.39 fn.
 गति 23.61
 गद् 23.232
 गन्त्री 22.75
 गन्ध 6.4, 34 fn.; 22.28; 23.6, 45
 गन्धक 6.34
 गन्धकुटी 1.26
 गन्धचेलिका 1. 34
 गन्धखेट 2.25
 गन्धनाकुली 3.56
 गन्धपाषाण 6.34
 गन्धबीजा 2.27
 गन्धमुण्ड 15.6
 गन्धमुण्डदुम 23.247
 गन्धमूल 2.32

गन्धरस 4.25
 गन्धर्व 13.24 fn.; 15.30
 गन्धर्वहस्तक 15.30 fn.
 गन्धवती 11.11
 गन्धवल्ली 16.11
 गन्धवहा 23.95
 गन्धवास 1.14
 गन्धशालि 19.17
 गन्धसार 1.1, 10
 गन्धसोमाख्य 13.25 fn.
 गन्धाली 10.4, 46
 गन्धालु 13.28; 19 17
 गन्धिक 2.25 fn.
 गन्धिनी 1.26
 गन्धिबीजा 2.27 fn.
 गम 22.57
 गमन 22.57
 गम्भीरी 7.11
 गरल 6.41
 गर्दभ 13.24 fn.; 22.79; 23.239
 गर्दभशाका 15.22
 गर्दभ 13.24
 गर्दभाण्ड 15.6
 गर्द्व 3.10 fn.
 गर्भक 22.29
 गर्भघातिनी 6.50
 गर्भपातिनी 6.50 fn.
 गल्य 13.3 fn.
 गवय 20.35
 गवाक्षा 11.38 fn.
 गवाक्षी 11.38; 12.14; 17.29

- गवाख्या 11.38 fn
 गवादनी 11.38
 गवेधु 16.17
 गव्य 23.109
 गह्वर 3.10
 गाङ्गेय 2.16
 गाङ्गेरुकी 3.58
 गाण्डीरी 3.15 fn.
 गात्रानुलेपनी 22.45
 गायत्री 4.18
 गारुत्मन 5.18
 गाल 3.63
 गिर् 23.92
 गिरि 14.44 fn.; 21.20
 गिरिकर्णी 11.37
 गिरिका 20.53
 गिरिज 1.3; 7.29
 गिरिजा 8.10; 17.19
 गिरिपुष्पक 1.33
 गिरिमल्लिका 3.53
 गिरिमृद् 6.29
 गुग्गुल 4.27 fn.
 गुग्गुलु 4.27; 23.268
 गुग्गुलुक 23.263
 गुच्छक 13.33
 गुच्छफल 8.29 fn.
 गुच्छाल 10.11
 गुञ्जन [गृ° ?] 13.15
 गुञ्जा 6.49; 10.37; 23.168
 गुड 15.19
 गुडची 10.15 fn.
 गुडत्वच 23.271
 गुडपुष्प 7.28
 गुडुची 10.15
 गुडुची 10.15 fn.
 गुण 23.237
 गुणवत्तरा 9.5
 गुणवर्त्तना 9.5 fn.
 गुणावहा 9.20 fn.
 गुण्डा 6.35
 गुण्डारोचनिका 6.35
 गुण्डी 6.35 fn.
 गुत्थ 16.17
 गुद 23.87, 209
 गुन्दक 16.18 fn.
 गुन्दा 16.17
 गुन्द्रक 16.18
 गुन्द्रा 16.17
 गुप्तपत्रक 13.29
 गुर्थ 16.17 fn.
 गुल्म 23.232
 गुल्मा 14.21 fn.
 गुल्मिनी 23.139
 गुल्मी 14.22
 गुदा 10.26; 15.19 fn.; 21.23
 गुह्य 23.229
 गुञ्जन 13.15 fn.
 गूथ 23.127
 गृध्रनखी 14.22
 गृह 23.227
 गृहद्रुम 10.8
 गृहचल्लव 20.60 fn.

गृहाराम 22.47
 गेहोपवन 22.48
 गैरिक 6.29; 23.273
 (गैरिजेय 6 25 F.)
 गो 22.80,112
 गोकण्टक 10.28
 गोकर्ण 20.30; 23.160
 गोकर्णी 7.35
 गोक्षुर 10.18
 गोक्षुरक 10.28
 गोच्छक 13.33 fn.
 गोच्छाल 10. 11 fn.
 गोजिह्वा 16.17
 गोडुम्बा 12.14
 गोणी 23. 182
 गोण्टा 7.16 fn.
 गोत्र 21.20
 गोदन्त 6.39,53
 गोदन्ता 6.53 fn.;23.264
 गोदावरी 21.13
 गोदुग्धा 12.14
 गोधा 20.34
 गोधावल्ली 17.9
 गोधिकारमज 20.56
 गोधूम 18.2,22,23
 गोधूमभक्त 20.7
 गोनाश 5. 11 fn.
 गोनास 5.11
 गोपक 4.25
 गोपघण्टा 17.28
 गोपन 1.22 fn.

गोपभद्रा 17.17 fn.
 गोपभद्रिका 7.11
 गोपवल्ग्व 5.9
 गोपवल्ली 17.9 fn.,17
 गोपिवल्ग्व 5.9 fn.
 गोपिष्ठ 6.17 fn.
 गोपीवल्ग्व 5.9 fn.
 गोवन्धना 16.11 fn.
 गोमती 21.14
 गोमायु 20.48 fn.
 गोमेद 5.1,10,22
 गोमेदसन्निभा 6.32
 गोरक्षतण्डुला 3.59
 गोरसज 21.40
 गोरोचना 4.2,22
 गोला 6.36,37
 गोलोमी 15.38;23.248
 गोल्य 13.3
 गोवन्दना 16.11
 गोवेष्ट 6.17
 गोशाल 10.11 fn.
 गोशीर्ष 1.11;10.42
 गोस्तनी 7.5
 गोस्तनीमद्य 23.103
 गोहरीतकी 7.19
 गौड 23.105
 गौणी 9.27
 गौधार 20.56
 [गौधूम] 20.18
 गौधेय 20.56
 गौधेर 20.56

- गौर 13.18
 गौरपाषाण 6.54
 गौरशाक 7.29 fn.
 गौरसर्षप 9.36
 गौरसाल 7.29
 गौरी 13.11
 गौरीकेश 6.25 fn.
 गौरीजेय [गौरि° F.] 6.25
 गौरीतेजस् 6.25
 गौरीबीज 6.34
 गौल्य 13.3 fn.
 ग्रन्थखेट 2.25
 ग्रन्थिक 1.16; 2.5; 10.2, 33
 ग्रन्थिनी 6.49 fn.
 ग्रन्थिपर्ण 1.16
 ग्रन्थिफल 13.31
 ग्रन्थिमत् 17.34
 ग्रन्थिल 2.25 fn.; 10.42; 15.27
 ग्रामजा 7.24
 ग्राम्यधर्म 22.59
 ग्राम्यवल्लभा 9.3
 ग्रावन् 21.2, 20, 21
 ग्रात्रभिद् 16.3
 ग्रावारि 16.25
 ग्राहिणी 3.30
 ग्राहिन् 8.7
 ग्रीष्म 12.7 fn.; 21.34; 23.65
 ग्रीष्मभवा 11.17
 ग्रैवेयक 22.18
 ग्रैष्म 12.7
 ग्लान 23.187
 ग्लाम्बु 23.187
 घट 23.181, 192
 घण्टा 17.28 fn.
 घण्टापाटलिका 16.7
 घण्टाबीज 15.16
 घण्टारवा 16.3, 42
 घन 6.25 fn.; 23.72, 222, 258
 घनरस 14.34
 घनसार 1.5
 घनाघन 9.20 fn.
 घनाङ्कुर 6.25 fn.
 घनावहा 9.20
 घनाह्वय 6.25
 घर्मदा 23.77
 घुलब्ध 16.17
 घृत 21.43
 घृतमण्डा 16.29
 घृष्टि 20.61
 घोटक 22.77
 घोणा 23.95
 घोणिक 9.27
 घोण्टा 7.16; 17.28
 घोण्टापाटलिका 16.7 fn.
 घोल 21.40
 घोला 9.27 fn.
 घोलिका 9.27 fn.
 घोली 9.27 fn.
 घोष 6.2, 15
 घोषक 6.2 fn.
 घोषफला 17.26 fn.
 घोषातकी 17.25 fn.

घ्राण 23.95
 घ्राणतर्पण 23.44
 चक्र 3.35;6.47
 चक्रदन्ती 15.16
 चक्रनायक 1.49
 चक्रनक्षत्रा 10.15
 चक्रवर्तिन् 9.6
 चक्राकी 10.22
 चक्रा 10.22 fn.
 चक्राङ्ग 20.63
 चक्राङ्गी 3.6,16
 चक्राह 22.79
 चक्रिन् 20.58;23.71
 चक्षुष्य 3.38;6.28
 चक्षुष्या 17.27
 चक्षुस् 10.8;23.55,96
 चञ्चला 23.74
 चटक 20.68
 चटिका 10.33
 चटिकाशिरस् 10.33
 चणका 3.21
 चण्डा 1.4,43
 चण्डी 1.4 fn.,43 fn.
 चतुःपल 23.177
 चतुरक 23.260
 चतुरङ्गुल 14.10
 चतुर्थक 23.175
 चतुर्थांश 23.267
 चतुर्वेह 23.184
 चतुर्विंशङ्गुल 23.162
 चतुष्पाद 23.185

चनक 18.4
 चन्दन 1.10;3.61
 चन्द्रक 1.7;20.42
 चन्द्रकान्त 1.11;5.14,13.24
 चन्द्रभागा 21.13
 चन्द्ररेखा 3.12 fn.
 चन्द्रलेखा 3.12
 चन्द्रातप 22.43
 चन्द्रिका 2.28;23.79
 चपल 6.5
 चपला 23.74
 चम्पक 11.1,6
 चम्पाक 11.6 fn.
 चर 23.2,110, [134]
 चरक 10.36
 चरण 23.91,267
 चरणायुध 20.44
 चरिष्णु 23.110
 चर्मकषा 15.4,36
 चर्मन् 22.72;23.93,117
 चर्मसंज्ञा 15.36
 चर्वण 20.6
 चल 1.35
 चलकण्टक 10.48 fn.
 चल्लण 12.7 fn.
 चविका 3.3,41
 चव्य 3.41
 चाङ्गरी 8.20
 चातुजात 1.19
 चातुजातक 1.2
 चामर 22.36

- चामरपुष्पिका 16.27
 चामिकर 6.7 fn.
 चामीकर 6.7
 चाम्पेय 1.25;11.6
 चिकित्सक 23.186
 चिकित्सा 23.185
 चिकुर 23.132
 चिक्रण 23.99
 चिञ्चा 8.3,22
 चित्त 23.97,223
 चित्र 15.30;23.225
 चित्रक 9.16;22.26;23.261
 चित्रतण्डुल 3.9
 चित्रपणी 3.15;10.26
 चित्रा 12.2,14;15.9;17.29;23.241
 चित्राङ्ग 12.9 fn.
 चित्राङ्गा 12.9
 चिन्न 23.168
 चिपिटक 20.23
 चिरपल्लव 11.23
 चिरविल्व 14.32
 चिर्मट 12.1,9
 चीन 6.17,19.1,6
 चीनकर्पूर 1.7
 चुक्र 9.31;23.82
 चुक्रिका 8.20,22
 चुण्ड 21.1,17
 चुल्लक 9.7
 चुल्लि 22 39
 चुल्वक 9.7 fn.
 चूडा 20.43
 चूडामणि 22.17
 चूत 8.6
 चूर्ण 22.65;23.197,200,203
 चेतकी 3.25;11.5 fn.
 चेतन 23.114
 चेतस् 23.97,228
 चेलाख्य 12.7
 चैत्यवृक्ष 14.24 fn.
 चैत्रवृक्ष 14.24
 चोच 7.1,8
 चोरक 1.43;2.21
 चोष्य 20.6
 छगला 17.2
 छगलान्त्री 17.20,35
 छत्र 2.8 fn.; 22.35
 छत्रक 10.45
 छत्रपत्र 14.14
 छत्रपर्पटी 6.33
 छत्रा 2.8;16.1,10
 छत्राङ्ग 6.39
 छद 3.2;23.144
 छदन 23.144
 छदपत्र 14.14 fn.
 छदेन 3.64;14.9;23.209
 छाया 23.66,76
 छिन्नशहा 10.14
 छूरिक 11.2 fn.,23
 छूरीक 11.2
 छोलङ्ग 8.31
 जङ्गम 6.43;23.110,134
 जङ्गमज 23.116

जङ्गमप्रयोजन 23.136

जङ्गमेतर 23.133

जङ्घोष्चेष्टन 22.82

जटा 1.2

जटायु 4.27

जटिन् 14.44

जटिला 1.29; 2.29; 16.12 fn.

जटी 1.28; 14.44; 23.143

जडा 17.6

जडी 14.44 fn.

जतु 4.26

जतुक 4.24

जन 23.217

जनप्रिया 9.34 fn.

जन्तु 23.114

जन्तुघ्न 3.9; 4.24 fn.

जन्मिन् 23.114

जन्मु 23.114

जम्ब 8.8 fn.

जम्बल 8.8 fn.

जम्बाल 23.33

जम्बीर 8.8

जम्बुक 11.16; 20.48 fn.

जम्बू 8.2

जम्बूक 11.16 fn.

जम्भ 8.1, 8

जम्भल 8.8

जम्भीर 8.8

जयन्ती 10.30

जयपाल 15.15

जया 10.2, 10, 32

जयामल 6.21

जरण 2.3 fn.

जरायुज 23.111, 112

जलकण्टक 13.4

जलकन्द 13.26

जलचर 20.29

जलज 1.7 fn.; 14.15

जलजन्तु 20.72

जलशोक्त (?) 13.26 fn.

जलप्राया 23.12

जलप्रिया 9.34

जलभोक्तृ 13.26 fn.

जलवर्ग 21.35

जलवल्ली 13.4

जलशुक्ति 20.71

जलाह 1.41

जवा 11.1, 9

जहु तनया 21.9

जागरण 22.55

जाङ्गल 23.9, 14

जाङ्गला 23.11

जातिकोष 1.44

जाती 11.1, 5

जानीपत्र 1.44

जातीफल 1.2, 32

जामातृ 10.50

जायु 23.188

जालक 23.147

जालिनी 12.16

जाव 4.26 fn.

जिङ्गी 3.2, 14

जिह्वा 3.36	मञ्जुभार्जिल 23.77
जिह्वा 23.86,93	भर 21.24
जीमूतक 14.16	भूष 20.69
जीमूतमूल 2.19	भूषा 3.58
जीर 2.1,3	टङ्क 8.1 fn.
जीरक 2.3,5	टङ्कण 4.15 fn.
जीरण 2.3	टङ्कदेशज 9.7 fn.
जीर्ण 23.228	टङ्ग 9.1
जीवक 3.43,45;14.42;15.2,18	टङ्गण 4.15
जीवनी 3.47;9.5	टङ्गदेशज 9.7
जीवन्ती 3.3,34;9.1,5	टङ्गन 4.12
जीवत्न 5.12	टुण्डुक 14.30
जीववल्ली 3.52	डहु 8.27
जीवशाक 9.29,5 fn.	तक्र 21.4,39,40
जीवशाका 9.5	तगर 3.55
जीवसंज्ञ 15.18	तगरपादक 3.36
जीवातु 3.49	तगरपादिक 3.36 fn.
जुङ्गा 17.35	तटिनी 21.7
जुर्ण 16.2	तडाग 21.1,15
जुर्णाख्य 16.14	तडागज 13.34
जूनाख्य 16.14 fn.	तडित् 23.74
जूर्णाख्य 16.14 fn.	तण्डुलीयक 9.12
जोङ्गक 1.8	तत्त 23.161
ज्ञान 23.243	तद्रूप्य (?) 21.38 fn.
ज्योतिष्क 14.6	तनु 23.220,256
ज्योतिष्मती 9.14	तनुत्वच् 13.33
ज्योत्स्ना 23.66,79	तनुम् (?) 13.33 fn.
ज्योत्स्नी 12.2,17	तनुर्ह 23.133
ज्वलन 23.39	तन्नुभ 9.35
ज्वलनाग्रज 22.64	तन्त्रक 22.9
ज्वलनाशमन् 5.13	तप 23.67

तपस्विनी 1.29	तान्न 6.9;23.18
तप्त 21.28	तान्नचूड 20.44
तप्त 23.66,80,237	तान्नपर्णी 3.15 fn.
तमालक 1.22	तान्नपाकी 15.5
तमालपत्र 22.26	तान्नरीज 18.20
तमिस्र 23.80	तान्नमूला 3.30
तमोमणि 5.10	तान्नवल्ली 3.15
तरङ्ग 20.25 fn.	तान्नशालि 19.19
तरण 22.87	तान्नसार 3.61
तरला 20.11	तान्ना 19.9
तरस 23.119	तार 6.8
तरु 23.136	तारक 23.214
तरुज 4.19	तारमाक्षिक 6.26
तरुण 15.30	तार्क्ष 6.19
तरुणी 13.5	तार्क्ष्य 6.20;17.22
तर्कारी 10.32	ताल 7.2,14;23.12,160
तकिल 9.4,34	तालपर्णी 1.26
तर्जनी 23.159	तालव (?) 20.14
उर्दू 23.194	तालवृक्षक 22.35
तल्प 22.41	ताली 13.13
तस्कर 1.43	तालीश 3.33
[तस्थिवस्] 23.110	तिक्त 10.36-,23.81,83,218,255
ताडकाफल 1.23	तिक्तक 9.11;12.15
ताडि 23.12	तिक्ततुम्बी 12.13
तापसप्रिय 14.35	तिक्तयुग 3.2
ताप्य 6.40	तिक्तरोहिणिका 3.17
तामलकी 13.14	तिक्तशाक 14.12 fn.
ताम्बूलपत्र 13.28	तिक्तसार 4.20
ताम्बूलपत्रा 13.28 fn.	तिक्तसारा 14.1
ताम्बूलवल्ली 17.5	तिक्ता 1.34;3.16 fn.;10.6;14.23 fn.;
ताम्बूली 17.1,5	23.255 fn.

- तिक्तिका 9.1
 तिग्म 21.28
 तिच्चिर 23.11
 तिच्चिरि 20.31
 तिनिश 15.34
 तिन्तिडिक 23.251
 तिन्तिडी 8.22
 तिन्तिडीफल 15.15
 तिन्दुक 3.39;7.3,30
 तिर्मा 15.28 fn.;23.80
 तिमिरक 15.28
 तिमिरक 15.28 fn.
 तिरीट 3.39
 तिर्यग्जा 1.37
 तिल 18.1,14;23.26,100
 तिलक 9.11 fn.;22. 6
 तिलकलकज 18.15
 तिचरणी 3.61
 तिचपिण्डी 18.15
 तिलमल 18.15
 तिचश्राणा 20.14
 तिलोपमा 17.21
 तिल्य 23.26
 तीक्ष्ण 1.46;6.10;17.22 fn.;21.28;
 23.239
 तीक्ष्णगन्ध 2.32;11.29;13.16
 तीक्ष्णगन्धक 9.23
 तीक्ष्णगन्धा 1.24;23.240
 तीक्ष्णतण्डुला 2.12
 तीक्ष्णपत्र 9.33
 तीक्ष्णलौह 6.11
 तीक्ष्णशूक 18.24
 तीक्ष्णा 2.29;9.3
 तीर्था 3.27 fn.
 तीव्रकन्द 13.10
 तुगा 7.39
 तुगाक्षीरी 7.39
 तुङ्ग 11.41
 तुण्डिकेरी 7.36;15.23
 तुत्थ 6.3
 तुत्थक 6.24
 तुम्बी 12.2,12
 तुरगगन्धा 15.26
 तुरङ्ग 22.77
 तुरङ्गम 22.77
 तुरष्क 1.36
 तुर्याम 9.35 fn.
 तुर्यपल 23.176
 तुर्याढक 23.180
 तुलसी 10.41
 तुला 23.166,183
 तुलाकोटी 22.23
 तुलामान 23.184
 तुवर 18.27
 तुवरी 18.16
 तुषार 21.27,32;23.68
 तुष्टा 12.12
 तुहिन 21.32;23.68
 तूबर 23.84
 तूल 23.221
 तूलनी 14.41
 तूलफला 14.41

- तृण 23.20
 तृणग्राहिन् 5.16
 तृणधान्य 19.2
 तृणबीज 19.3
 तृणमुद्ग 19.3
 तृणराजाह्वय 7.14
 तृणशिम्बी 18.6 fn.
 तृणशून्य 16.15
 तृणसुन्य 16.15 fn.
 तृष्णिका 9.37 fn.
 तेजन 16.18
 तेजनी 7.34
 तेजवत्र 1.22
 तेजवती 3.41 fn.
 तेजस् 23.5, 126, 226
 तेजोमन्य 14.6
 तेजोवती 3.41
 तेन्दुज 3.39 fn.
 तेमन 20.73
 तैल 23.2, 98, 99, 100, 195
 तैलङ्ग 11.43 fn.
 तैलपर्णी 1.29; 23.249
 तैलाङ्ग 11.43
 तैलीन 23.26
 तोक 18.25 fn.
 तोक्म 18.25 fn.,
 [तौक्य] 18.25
 तोय 21.3; 23.36, 201, 205
 तोयवल्ली 12.18
 तोयाधिक (?) 8.19
 तोयाभिवासिनी 11.32
 तौतिक 5.7
 त्रपु 6.16
 त्रपुष 12.6, 8
 त्रपुषी 12.6
 [त्रल] 23.134
 त्रायन्तिका 3.1
 त्रायन्ती 3.11
 त्रायमाणा 3.11
 त्रिकटु 2.10
 त्रिकुट 4.7 fn.
 त्रिकूट 4-7
 त्रिक्षार 4.1
 त्रिजात 1.19
 त्रिदला 17.9
 त्रिदशालय 21.5
 त्रिदिव 21.5
 त्रिपथगा 21.10
 त्रिपदी 10.47; 17.9 fn.
 त्रिपर्णी 15.24
 त्रिपादी 10.4, 47 fn.
 त्रिपुत्र 18.5 fn.
 त्रिपुटी 17.31; 18.5
 त्रिपुरमल्लिका 11.12 fn.
 त्रिपुरा 11.12 fn.
 त्रिकला 3.23; 23.206
 त्रिभण्डी 17.31
 त्रियष्टि 10.36
 त्रिवृत् 17.3, 31
 त्रिवृत्ता 17.3, 32
 त्रिस्रोतस् 21.10
 त्रिटि 1.24

त्रेफल 3.23	दन्त 23.131,272
त्रैलोक्यविजरा 10.10	दन्तधावन 4.8
त्र्यूपण 2 10	दन्तशठ 8.8
त्वक्क्षीरी 7.4,39	दन्तशठा 8.20
त्वक्छद 15.13 fn.	दन्तशुद्धि 15.28
त्वग्दोष 23 237	दन्तिन् 22.76
त्वच् 1.19;23 86,93,115	दन्ती 15.9;23.241
त्वच 1.20	दरद 6.18;9.26
त्वालज (?) 20.14 fn.	दरहास 22.85
दशक 23.113	दरी 21.23
दशाल 8 16	दरु 6.49 fn;20.57
दष्टिन् 20 61	दर्पक 22.86
दक्ष 23.260	दर्पण 22.25
दक्षिणा (गति) 23.61	दभे 16.14,31
दग्ध 20.4	दर्वी 23.190,194
दग्धास्याह्न 9.33	दल 23.144,231
दग्धिका 20.4	दला 9.22
दण्डालु 13.27,28	दलाम्ल 9.7
दण्डाहत 21.41	दवज 1.7 fn.
दण्डुक 15.28 fn.	दशन 23.116,130
दण्डोत्पल 16.2	दहन 23.38
दण्डोत्पन्ना 16 19	दहनक 11.35 fn.
दद्रुघ्न 9.32	दान्तायणी 15.1 fn.,10 fn.
दधि 20.24;21.4,38	दाडिम 8.5
दधिज 1.42	दाडिमी 6.53;8.5
दधित्थ 8.7	दाडिम्ब 8.1,5 fn.
दधिदुग्ध 21.39	दात्यूह 20.32,46
दधिश्र्याह्न 1.39	दाधिक 21.38
दधिसंस्कृत 21.38	दारद 6.41
दध्यानी 9.21	दारव 22.74
दध्याली 9.21 fn.	दारु 1.18;23.196

- दारुविष 6.52
 दारुहरिद्रा 3.32
 दारुहस्तक 23.194
 दारुिका 6.28
 दार्वी 3.2, 32; 6.3
 दार्वीकायोत्थ 6.23
 दासकुरण्टक 10.13 fn.
 दासी 10.13
 दिव् 23.42
 दिव 21.5
 दिवानिशोषित 21.30
 दिव्य 21.1, 26
 दिव्यलोह 6.12
 दिष्ट 23.52, 254
 दीदिवि 20.3
 दीन 3.36
 दीप 22.4, 61
 दीप्तलोह 6.15
 दीप्ता 6.50
 दीप्ति 23.78
 दीप्तोपल 5.13
 दीप्य 2.9
 दीप्यक 2.9
 दीर्घखरच्छद 16.22
 दीर्घपत्रिका 2.31
 दीर्घफला 12.16 fn.
 दीर्घमूला 10.24; 17.17 fn.
 दीर्घलताद्रुम 17.22
 दीर्घवृन्त 14.30
 दीर्घशिम्ब 18.9
 दीर्घसमुच्चय 16.12 fn.
 दीर्घसमुच्चय 16.21
 दीर्घसमुश्रय 16.21 fn.
 दीर्घायुस् 3.45
 दीधिका 21.18
 दुःस्पर्श 3.2
 दुकूल 22.10
 दुग्ध 21.36
 दुग्धपाषाणि 6.32
 दुग्धसार 21.37
 दुग्धिका 17.33
 दुरालभा 3.29
 दुर्गन्ध 23.46
 दुर्गम 23.18
 दुर्धर 3.46
 दुर्लभा 3.34
 दुर्वर्ण 6.8
 दुष्प्रधर्षिणी 12.11
 दुस्पर्श 3.28
 दूर्वा 16.1, 5, 6
 दूष्य 22.15
 हृद्गर्भक 5.15
 हृदा 13.13
 हृषद् 21.21
 हृष्टि 23.214
 देवकाष्ठ 1.18
 देवकुसुम 1.45; 16.2
 देवखातविल 21.23
 देवता (क्षेत्र.) 23.21
 देवताढक 14.17
 देवदारु 1.18
 देवदाली 14.17

- देवदूती 8.11
 देवधूप 4.28
 देवमणि 3.47 fn., 48
 देववल्लभ 11.41
 देवाह्वय 1.1
 देवी 1.43; 7.34
 देशभेद 23.35
 देह 23.278
 दैत्य 1.2
 दैत्या 1.26
 दैन्य 23.230
 दोला 22.70
 दोषकर 8.27
 दोषपाचक 8.7 fn.
 दोषपाचन 8.7
 दो 21.5; 23.42
 द्योत 23.78
 द्रक्षण 23.171
 द्रप्स्य 21.38
 द्रव 21.41; 23.2, 98, 199, 279
 द्रवन्ती 10.39
 द्रव्य 23.98, 201
 द्राक्ष (? इन्द्राक्ष Dh., Kn., Mn.) 3.46
 द्राक्षा 7.1, 5
 द्राक्षावली 15.1, 10
 द्राव 3.46 fn.
 द्राविडक 2.20
 द्राविडा 1.24
 द्रु 1.17 fn.; 23.137
 द्रुक्लिप्त 1.17
 द्रुम 15.18; 23.14, 137
 द्रुमालय 4.26
 द्रुमोत्पल 14.31
 द्रुचय 23.156, 158
 द्रुवयमान 23.165
 द्रोण 23.180
 द्रोणचतुष्टय 23.182
 द्रोणद्वय 23.182
 द्रोणपुष्प 10.42
 द्रोणपुष्पी 10.42 fn.
 द्रोणवाप 23.15
 द्रोणाख्य 10.3
 द्रौणिक 23.25
 द्रुन्द 23.235
 द्वादशाङ्गुल 23.161
 द्विप 1.25; 22.76
 द्विपल 23.176
 द्विरेफ 20.49
 द्विवृन्त 15.3, 28
 द्वीपिन् 20.52 fn.; 22.72
 द्वैप 22.72
 द्वैपक 7.9
 धनञ्जय 14.27
 धनुःश्रेणी 7.35
 धनुर्यास 3.28
 धनुष्पट 7.15
 धन्यवृत्त 14.36
 धन्याक 2.26
 धन्वित्रन् 14.27
 धमन 16.3, 21
 धमना 14.36 fn.
 धमनी 23.130

धमन्य 14.36
 धरण 22.34; 23.183
 धरणी 23.8
 धरणीफल 18.11
 धरा 23.8
 धरित्री 23.8
 धर्मण 14.3, 36
 धर्मपत्तन 2.13
 धव 14.4, 43; 23.235
 धवलवेशमन् 22.40
 धविशीफल 18.11 fn.,
 धातकि 11.2
 धातकी 11.18
 धातु 6.2, 29, fn.; 23.115, 273, 278
 धातुकाशीस 15.39
 धातुकी 11.18 fn.
 धातुपुष्पिका 11.18
 धातुमाक्षिक 6.40
 धातुवृक्ष 4.15
 धातुपुष्पिका 11.18 fn.
 धात्रो 3.23, 27; 23.257
 धाना 20.23
 धान्य 2.2; 19.12; 23.157
 धान्यक 23.167
 धान्यवीर 18.18
 धान्यश्रेष्ठ 19.13
 धान्यास्त 20.10
 धामार्गव 17.2, 25
 धारण 22.69
 धारणा 23.130
 धारा 14.19 fn.

धारासम्पात 23.70
 धावनिक 10.20
 धीर 14.2
 धीरा 14.19
 धुरण फल 18.11 fn.
 धुरन्धर 14, 43
 धुस्तुर 6.48
 धूपकपुच्छिका 10.34 fn.
 धूम 22.62, 64
 धूमकपत्रिका 10.34 fn.
 धूमसम्भव 22.66
 धूम्याट 23.271
 धूर्त 15.17; 23.265
 धूलि 22.65
 धूसरच्छदा 17.19
 धूसरपत्रिका 9.10; 10.34
 धूस्तुरक 15.17
 धूस्तूरक 15.17 fn.
 धेकी (?) 20.28 fn.
 ध्याम 11.35 fn.; 13.18
 ध्यामा 11.3, 35
 ध्रुवा 10.23
 ध्वज 23.89
 ध्वनि 23.50
 ध्वाङ्क्ष 20.54
 ध्वाङ्क्षोली 3.51
 ध्वान 23.50
 ध्वान्त 23.80, 237
 ध्वान्तघ्न 22.61
 नकुल 20.34
 नक्तमाल 14.32

- नक्र 20.70
 नख 1.4,48,49;23.128
 नखर 23.128
 नखरञ्जक 15.28
 नखी 1.48
 नरमण्डन 6.39
 नडाढ्य 23.32
 नड्वत् 23.32
 नड्वल 23.32
 नत 3.3,36
 नदी 21.1,7
 नदीज 6.21;14.27
 नदीभञ्जातक 7.23
 नन्दन 18.7 fn.
 नन्दा 10.41
 [नन्दिज] 18.7
 नन्दिनी 1.28
 नन्दिवृक्ष 10.7;14.25
 नन्दीमुख 19.1,8
 नन्दीय 18.7 fn.
 नन्दीवृत्त 15.1,5
 नभस् 23.5,43
 नमस्कारी 15.22
 नमस्या 22.68
 नम्रक 8.23 fn.
 नयन 23.96
 नयनप्लव 22.83
 नयनव्याधि 23.269
 नर्मदा 21.12
 नल 16.21
 नलद 1.7,28
 नलदा 1.28 fn.
 नलिन 13.19
 नवनीत 21.4,42
 नवनीतज 21.43
 नवपल्लव 23.145
 नवमालिका 11.7 fn.
 नवरत्न 5.23
 नवसार 6.54
 नवाम्बर 22.9
 नाक 21.5
 नाकुनी 3.41,56
 नाग 6.17;20.60 fn.;22.76;23.277
 नागकेशर 1.25
 नागज 6.27
 नागजिह्वा 17.17 fn.
 नागजिह्विका 6.36
 नागदन्तिका 10.35 fn.
 नागदन्ती 15.11;23.277
 नागदलोपम 8.25
 नागवला 3.4,58
 नागर 2.10,14;23.256
 नागरङ्ग 8.21
 नागवत्तेका 10.35 fn.
 नागवल्ली 9.22;17.5
 नागवृन्तिका 10.35
 नाडी 15.4;23.130
 नाडीत्रण 23.211
 नाडीहिङ्गु 15.35
 नाद 23.51
 नादेय 4.5;21.26
 नादेयी 8.15,21,23;10.32
 नानार्थक 23.4

- नारायणी 7.38
 नारिखेल 7.8
 नाल 23.142, 152
 नालवती 9.22 fn.
 नालावती 9.22
 नाली 9.3, 22
 न शमाककुभङ्गकैः (?) 23.10
 नासा 23.86, 96
 नासिका 23.95
 निःश्रुता 17.32 fn.
 निःसृता 17.32
 निःस्वन 23.51
 निःस्वान 23.51
 निकुञ्च 23.184
 निकुम्भ 15.9; 23.265
 निकोच 7.1 fn., 7 fn.
 निकोठ 7.1, 7
 निचुल 14.15
 निचोल 22.12
 नित्यवल्लभ 20.60
 निदाघ 23.67
 निदिग्धिका 10.19
 निद्रा 22.53
 निद्राकर 9.8
 निद्रालु 22.54
 निधानवत् 23.19
 निधुवन 22.59
 निनद 23.50
 निनाद 23.50
 निन्दावाच् 23.218
 निन्द्य 18.7 fn.
 निमज्जन 22.6
 निमेष 23.53, 55
 निम्नगा 21.7
 निम्पाक 8.1 fn., 12 fn.
 निम्ब 8.1, 12; 14.1, 8; 23.255
 निम्बतरु 10.9
 नियुत 22.44
 निरामय 23.242
 निरामोद 11.39
 निराहार 22.67
 निर्गुण्डी 15.8
 निर्घोष 23.51
 निर्भर 21.24
 निर्यास 23.142, 153
 निर्यासिन् 14.28
 निवात 23.66, 77
 निह्वा 23.51
 निशा 13.11
 निशाचर 20.55
 निशूद्रा 17.32 fn.
 निष्कुट 22.47
 निष्ठान 20.73
 निष्प.व 18.1, 6
 निष्पेय 20.6
 निष्प्रवा.ण 22.9
 निस्तुष 18.22
 निस्तुषोपल 5.8
 निस्राव 20.19
 नीचकुलिश 5.11
 नीप 11.2, 21
 नीर 1.3; 23.36
 नीरस 23.151

नील 5.2,16,20;6.22;13. 23
 नीलकण्ठ 13.35;14,42 fn;20.40
 नीलकण्ठ 13.35.fn.
 नीलकुण्डल 10.12
 नीलपत्रिका 16.20
 नीलपुष्पा 11.38;16.25 fn.;17 21
 नीलभण्डा 14.42
 नीलमाष 18.19
 नीलबुद्धा 17.21
 नीलवृद्धा 17.21 fn.
 नीलाब्ज 13.23
 नीलाम्बर 3.33
 नीलाक 6.11 fn.
 नीलिका 6.11
 नीलिनी 17.20
 नीली 16.20
 नीवार 19.4
 नीवारक 19.1
 नीशार 22.14
 नीहार 21.32;23.28
 नूतनोद्भूत 23.155
 नूपुर 22.24
 नृ 22.112
 नृप 3.46
 नृपपत्नी 23.211
 नृपभोज्य 19.2
 नृपवल्लभा 12.14
 नृपात्मजा 12.13
 नृपार्ह 19.13
 नृपाह्वय 5.17
 नृपोचित 18.19

नेत्र 23.96,143
 नेत्रमण्डन 22.66
 नेत्ररोग 23.266
 नेत्रामयहरी 3.18
 नेत्राम्बु 23.210
 नेत्रौषधि 17.10
 नेमि 15.35
 नेमी 15.35 fn.
 नैपाल 7.27
 नैपाली 6.37
 न्यग्रोध 14.1,5
 पक्ष 23.228
 पक्ष 23.54,58,59,231
 पक्षिन् 20.67;23.14,112,229
 पङ्कज 13.19
 पङ्क्ति 23.211
 पचनार्ह 23.3
 पचम्पचा 3.32
 पञ्चमुल 10.2
 पञ्चमूली 10.18
 पञ्चशाख 23.90
 पञ्चास्य 20.50
 पट 22.8
 पटु 1.7 fn.;12.15
 पटुलोहक 6.11 fn.
 पटोल 12.2,15
 पणश 7.9 fn.
 पणस 7.9
 पणिका 5.17 fn.
 पणिकावर्त 5.17 fn.
 पण्डुर 9.15 fn.

- पतङ्ग 3.62
 पति 23.235
 पतिवल्लभ 12.9 fn.
 पत्तङ्ग 10.43 fn.
 पत्तूर 9.15
 पत्र 1.19,22;23.1+1,144,231
 पत्रशाक 9.4
 पत्राङ्ग 3.62;10.43
 पत्रिक 1.22 fn.
 पत्रोर्ण 22.10
 पथिक 22.58
 पथिन् 22.56
 पथ्या 3.24,27;21.14
 पद् 22.32
 पद 23.91
 पदवी 22.56
 पदाह्वय 23.143
 पद्म 13.19
 पद्मकाष्ठ 1.42
 पद्मचारिणी 15.21
 पद्ममूलक 13.17
 पद्मराग 5.4
 पद्मसंज्ञित 1.42
 पद्मा 15.20;23.21
 पद्माकर 21.15
 पद्मिका 15.20 fn.
 पनस 7.1
 पन्नीर 1.41 fn.
 पयःपेटी 7.8
 पयस् 21.36;23.36,157
 पयस्य 21.38
 पयस्या 3.51;15.33
 पयस्विनी 3.52
 पयोधरा 7.8 fn.
 पयोष्णी 21.14
 पग्भृत 20.45
 परमपूर्तिल 4.3
 परिकर्मन् 22.7
 परितान्तः (?) 23.129
 परिधान 22.13
 परिपेलव 2.15
 परिमल 23.45
 परिवासित 21.3,33
 परिव्याध 8.24;14.31
 परिष्कार 22.16
 परुष. 8.3,25
 परुषक 8.25
 पर्कटी 14.44
 पजनी 3.32
 पर्ण 23.144
 पर्णानी 10.18
 पर्णीर 1.41
 पत्तूर 9.15 fn.
 पपेट 10.3,36
 पर्यङ्क 22.33
 पर्युषित 21.31
 पवत 21.20
 अवपुष्पा 15.11 fn.
 पर्वपुष्पी 15.11
 पशुका 23.124
 पल 23.174,178,221
 पलङ्कष 18.6

पलङ्कषा 4.28; 7 40; 10.27; 23.263
 पलल 23.119
 पलाण्डु 13.16
 पलाशिका 13.6 fn.
 पलाश 14.39; 23.144, 270
 पलाशा 2.19
 पलाशिका 13.6
 पलाशिन 7.13; 23.137
 पल्यङ्क 22.33
 पल्लव 23.145
 पल्लवाह्वय 3.33
 पल्लौर 1.41 fn.
 पल्वल 21.18
 पवन 23.40
 पवि 23.231
 पवित्र 18.14; 21.43
 पद्मीर 1.41 fn.
 पांशु 22.62, 65
 पांशुक 4.10 fn.
 पांशुज 4.10
 पाक 23.3, 138, 191, 193
 पाकज 2.22, 23, 237
 पाकशुभला 6.31
 पाकारि 11.25
 पाक्य 4.10, 13
 पाचन 23.191
 पाटली 11.3
 पाटिन् 9.16 fn.
 पाठा 10.1, 5; 9.16 fn.
 पाठिन् 9.16
 पाणि 23.85, 90

पाणितल 23.172
 पाण्डरच्छद 11.17
 पाण्डव 23.266
 पाण्डु 17.13 fn.
 पाण्डुकम्बल 23.73
 पाण्डुकम्बलिन् 23.73
 पाण्डुर 14.21 fn.
 पाण्डुरच्छद 11.17 fn.
 पाण्डुलोमशपर्णी 11.7; 17.13
 पात्र 23.180, 219
 पाथस् 23.37
 पाद् 23.91
 पाद 23.85, 91, 267
 पादत्र 22.32
 पादप 23.137
 पादरोग 23.216
 पादसाधन 22.86
 पादाग्र 23.91
 पादाङ्गद 22.24
 पादू 22.2, 32
 पानगोष्ठिका 23.106
 पानीय 23.37, 225
 पानीयपृष्ठजा 16.23
 पानीयामलक 8.13
 पानीव 1.41 fn.
 पाथ 22.58
 पाप 23.234
 पापचेलिका 10.5
 पायस 20.15
 पायु 23.85, 87
 पाय्य 23.156, 157

- पारद 6.1,5,54fn.;23.278
 पारावतपदी 9.13
 पारिजात 11.9
 पारिजातक 10.9
 पारिभद्र 10.1,9
 पारिभाव्य 2.22
 पारिहार्य 22.20
 पार्थ 14.27;23.241
 पार्थगी 7.39
 पार्थवी 7.39 fn.
 पावत 14.9
 पार्वती 6.33;7.39 fn.
 पार्वतेय 6.22;10.49
 पार्श्वस्थि 23.124
 पालक 5.17
 पालङ्क्या 9.4,30
 पालिन्दि 1.47
 पालिन्दी 17.2,17 fn.
 पावक 14.6;23.39
 पावन 1.22
 पाशक 23.276
 पाशुपतक 11.20
 पाषाण 6 34 fn.;21.21
 पाषाणभेद 16.26
 पाषाणसंज्ञित 6.52
 पिक 20.45
 पिङ्गल 6.14
 पिङ्गला 14.19
 पिङ्गलफटिक 5.10,12 fn.
 पिङ्गी 14.4,37
 पित्रु 23.173,221
 पिचुक 3.65 fn.
 पिचुमदे 14.8
 पिचुल 3.65
 पिञ्चट 6.16
 पिच्छ 20.43
 पिच्छट 6.16 fn.
 पिच्छला 14.19 fn.
 पिच्छलान्तर 13.30
 पिच्छलोद्भव 13.30 fn.
 पिच्छा 4.1,4
 पिच्छिल 13.30 fn.;20.75
 पिच्छिलच्छदा 9.28
 पिच्छिलत्वच् 14.36
 पिच्छिला 14.19;18.17
 पिच्छिलान्तर 13.30 fn.
 पिञ्जर 6.38
 पिटङ्कोटी 17.30
 पिटङ्काटी 17.30 fn.
 पिठर 23.192
 पिण्ड 4.25;6.10
 पिण्डखजूर 7.24
 पिण्डफला 12.12
 पिण्डालु 13.27,30
 पिण्डित 1.36
 पिण्डितक 3.63 fn.
 पिण्डीतक 3.63;12.1,5
 पिण्या 9.2 fn.
 पिण्याक 1.39;18.15 fn.
 पितृवल्लभ 20.60 fn.
 पित्तल 6.13,38
 पिण्या 9.2,13

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[PARTS III & IV

EXTRACTS FROM A CONTEMPORARY DUTCH CHRONICLE OF MUGHAL INDIA.

By BRIJ NARAIN AND SRI RAM SHARMA.

The fort of Agra was completed in the same year. Raja Todarmal, who was the King's treasurer, had kept accounts of what the fort had cost and he submitted them (to the king). The cost was fifty thousand karor Takkahs and reckoning 20 tankas to each rupee, Rs. 2,50,03,000. Todar Mal also submitted the accounts of building at Sikri or Fathpur, and also of the wall of the town, which amounted to Rs. 15,00,000. Thus the total cost of building the fort of Agra and Fathpur amounted to Rs. 40,00,000.

Shortly afterwards Khan-i-Khanan Munim Khan, governor of Jaunpur, wrote to the King that as ordered by him, he was constantly waging war against the Pathans. As they had informed him before, Sulaiman Kararani was dead ; his son governed Patna for two years when he was murdered by one of his friends. The youngest brother of Bayazid Khan, called Daud⁴, had then made himself king, but he was a great drunkard, and always dead drunk, giving little attention to the army or the kingdom, for which reason he was hated by the army as an enemy. Therefore they thought it advisable that His Majesty should invade Bengal in person, and it was certain that the whole province would fall under his sway⁵. Having read this letter of Khan-i-

* Continued from Vol. XXVIII (1942) of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Khanan Munim Khan, the King immediately commanded all his tents to be brought out, and all his nobles and soldiers to prepare for the expedition to Patna. Thus he set out for Patna with all his elephants, guns and whatever else was necessary for war, crossing the rivers Ganges and Chaunsa. Shah Daud when he learnt about Akbar's invasion, sent 12000 Pathan cavalry ahead to check the progress of the Mughals. They met between Chaunsa and Mahib Alipour and the battle began. But the Pathans offered little resistance and fled towards Patna. Shah Daud, hearing of this defeat fortified the town, took in provisions, and placed all the guns on the walls, hoping to withstand the siege⁶.

King Akbar, arriving before Patna with the whole of his army, surrounded the town, but Shah Daud, by means of fierce sallies and other manly deeds, defended the town for six months⁷. In the end the town was taken by storm. The royal army on entering the town cut many thousand Pathans into pieces. All women and maidservants of King Daud and his Omeras were taken prisoners. Further, all the gold and silver found in the palace was placed in Akbar's treasury.

When Shah Daud's palace was being plundered, he lay dead drunk and did not know what was happening. His attendants and courtiers placed him in a boat and sailing down the river Ganges for two or three days, they fled towards Bengal. But when they thought that it was on account of his drunkenness that they had been overtaken by misfortunes, they cut off his head and sent it to King Akbar⁸.

After taking the town, Patna, Akbar brought the whole of the province of Bengal under his sway. Having spent some time there, and appointed governors over all places, he resolved to return to Fathpur⁹. Arriving there he ordered the following Omeras, who were brave warriors, namely, Dustam Khan, Sadiq Muhammad Khan and many more, to make preparations immediately for reducing and capturing from the Rai of fort of Ranthambor¹⁰, which was very strong and situated on a very high hill. The fort was captured in two months.

The King was told about the fort of Rohtas in the province of Bihar, that no fort as high, strong and large had ever been built or considering its situation, could be built, in the whole of Hindustan or Turkey, Arabia, Barbary or Persia. It was built on a mountain 2 koss

high, and under it was a plain 18 koss in circumference. Within the fort there were 14 fertile villages, which produced food grains every year sufficient for an army. A stream flowed through the fort. It came from the mountains and was diverted into 3 great tanks, which were always full of water. A river flowed at the foot of the mountain, called Son 3 coss in breadth. Trading vessels from other towns came up the river every day.

Akbar resolved to capture this fort. He selected Muhib Ali Khan for this enterprise, who, on account of his wisdom and courage was fit for it. This fort belonged to a Heathen Raja, who regarded it as his paradise, for neither the kings of Delhi nor of Bengal had ever ventured to attack him, it being impossible to take the fort by force or tactics. Muhib Ali Khan set out for Rohtas, keeping away from main roads. He made some presents to the Raja and thus gained his friendship, so much so that they seemed to be brothers. Sometime later Muhib Ali Khan sent a letter to the Raja saying that he had been ordered by the King to join his army in Bengal. He, therefore, begged permission to leave his Mahal or women in the fort. The unfortunate Raja (who had little experience of the subtlety of the world) gave him leave and said that he might freely bring his women into the fort and ordered the guards that no one was to prevent the women from coming in.

Thereupon Muhib Ali Khan had 200 doulis made, covered above, which are used for carrying women and placing in each douli two brave young soldiers, sent them up. When they had all entered the fort, 400 young men leaped out and slew with their swords the guards of the high outer gate. In a short time Muhib Ali Khan also arrived with his army and the Raja was killed¹¹. Thus this memorable victory was won, not by force, but by brave-hearted heroes whose names and achievement will remain enshrined in human memory, not for a short time, but for ever. A great quantity of treasure and valuables was found in the fort. An inventory was made of them and they were sent to the King.

When the King was at Fathpur he learnt that there was an extremely pretty woman at Sarangpur, named Rup Mati, but who now called herself Bador¹², who was raising an army of Pathans in order to rebel against him. He immediately sent Adham Khan with many other

Omeras there. The woman Bador understood very little of war and the number of her troops was very small. Still she arrayed the forces she had and offered battle. She was speedily routed and the general of the army, *i. e.*, Bador *alias* Rup Mati, was captured alive. They wanted to bring her before the King, but out of feeling of honorable shame she herself took poison and died.

The King now learnt that Mirza Muhammad Hakim, his brother in Kabul, had fallen ill and died after a few days' illness. He, therefore, sent letters to the more important Omeras of his brother asking them, with kind words and promises to come to him, undertaking to find honourable employment for all, suited to every one's position. He sent Raja Man Singh, a Rajput and commander of 5,000 horses, to govern Kabul and subdue the whole country. He was also to send to Akbar all his brother's women, children, treasure, jewels and other property. Raja Man Singh hurried to Kabul. By many promises he finally persuaded the women and children of Mirza Muhammad (Hakim) to go to the King. Thus two young sons, accompanied by the courtiers and Omeras of Akbar's brother, reached Fathpur. They fell at the King's feet and the King granted allowances to the two sons, one ten years and the other 7 years old, and entrusted his Omeras with their bringing up. Pensions were granted to their mother and her sister and a palace was given to them for residence. A pension was also granted to Ferriedeomghaen (Faridun Khan) who was a relation of Mirza Muhammad.

Further, the other Omeras, namely, Muhammad Masum Khan, Tukhta Beg Khan, (and) Muhammad Beg Khan were all provided with incomes sufficient for the maintenance of soldiers.

At this time Khan i-Khanan Munim Khan, the governor of Patna in Bengal died. The King sent Muhammad Masum Kabuldar accompanied by many other Omeras, to Bengal to take the place of the deceased.

News was received from Gujarat that Muzaffar, formerly prince of Gujarat, had revolted and raised a large army. He had captured Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan, uncle of Khan Azam, the governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of Ahmedabad, and had him and two or three other Omeras cut into pieces alive, like hens or animals. The King was at Fathpur when he learnt this. He sent Abdur Rahim

Khan, son of Khan Bairam Khan with a large army to (punish) the traitor. Muzaffar Naurang Khan and Gujar Khan, the two sons of Qutbduddin Muhammad Khan, who had been so foully murdered, were also sent with them so that they may avenge upon Muzaffar their father's death. Abdur-Rahim, by rapid marches, reached Gujarat with his army in a short time. Prince Muzaffar had 10,000 to 12,000 cavalry with him. In the battle which followed Mirza Abdur Rahim captured Muzaffar alive. A great number of the soldiers of Gujarat was put to the sword, and the rest fled.

Mirza Muzaffar was given in the custody of trusted Omeras, to be taken to Ahmedabad, but fearing the indignation of the King over his mis-deed and his punishment, he cut his own throat with a razor in the water-closet, and thus died.

Abdur-Rahim informed the King by letter of the victory of Gujarat and the death of prince Muzaffar. The news gave the King great joy and he held great celebrations in its honour. In reply to Abdur Rahim he wrote a very kind letter changing his name to Khan Khanan and making him commander of 5,000 horses.

A short time after these occurrences several nobles revolted in Bengal, namely, Majnu Khan, Niyabat Khan, and Muhammad Masum Kabuldar and threw the province into confusion. The King sent Raja Todar Mall, Wazir Khan, and Shahbaz Khan to Bengal with a large army. The above mentioned nobles bravely repelled the attacks of the royal army thrice, and captured Wazir Khan alive, but finally, through Akbar's good fortune, the rebels were defeated and slain, with the exception of Masum Khan, who escaped and sought the protection of Isa Khan in Bengal, who was the commander-in-chief of the enemy. The two together waged furious war against the King.

After this, Shahbaz Khan Kambhu was made Governor General of that part of Bengal which was under the King and Raja Todar Mall, the Wazir of the King, again returned to Fathpur. About this time Raja Ram Chand, who was the King of the castle Bando^u, which he had ruled for many years without owing allegiance to any one, who cared little for Muhammadan Kings, and did not regard any as his equal in power, allowed himself to be persuaded, under the influence of Raja Birbar, and on the King's promise, to go to Fathpur. He was received with great honour and after receiving the King's pardon, returned to

his castle Bando. And every heathen Raja or King who had a daughter, gave her to the King in marriage, as a pledge of submission.

The rebels Isa Khan and Masum Khan, who had hidden themselves in Bengal, again rallied their forces and marched against Shahbaz Khan Kambhu, the Governor of Bengal. In the same year the King in person proceeded to Chaunsa and Prayag. He was delighted with the place, for here in a lovely spot the rivers Jamuna, Chaunsa and Prayag, coming from different directions, meet. He therefore gave orders that a beautiful castle of hewn stone should be built here. The work was at once taken in hand and skilled stone-cutters and other workmen were called from different parts of the country. The building operations were directed by some Omeras who understood the work, and the castle was finished in 5 years. The name of the place was changed from Prayag to Allahabad. The castle cost Rs. 12,00,000,

Now that all the rebellions had been put down, the King had some rest.

At this time news was received that Abdullah Khan Uzbek, King of Mawaraun Nahar¹⁵ and son of Sikandar Khan who had inherited the Kingdom after his father's death, was planning to invade Hindustan. Whereupon the king thought of going to Lahore, having resided in Fathpur for fifteen years. While he was still at Fathpur, Mirza Sulaiman, grandfather of Mirza Shah Rukh of Badakhshan, having suffered great injury at the hands of Uzbeks, fled to Akbar for protection. Arriving at Lahore, Akbar wished to proceed to Kabul, but changed his mind thinking that the Ganges was still under the Pathans. He wanted to conquer that tract.

From Lahore he went to Attock, from where he sent Zain Khan (and) Raja Birbal ahead with a large army to fight the Pathans, who were led by their generals Jalal Afridi and Yusaf Zai. They had fortified the mountain passes and closed the roads, so that a large number of the royal troops were slain. Raja Birbal, with many other Omeras met with a disaster in the mountains, and no one knew where they fell. Zain Khan Koka escaped and went to the King at Attock, who raised a larger force and sent it there. This army met with better success than the first. It obtained a victory and recovered all the territory that had been occupied by Jalala Roshnai.

Then came the news that Mirza Musaffar Hussain and Mirza Rustam Khandahari, sons of Mirza Beyram, the ruler of Kandahar, being discontented had rebelled against the Persian King Shah Abbas, son of Khudabanda and sought the protection of King, Akbar. The king wrote to them that they were welcome. His country was theirs and he was ready to receive them with honour and friendship. He sent Shah Beg Khan, a commander of 5,000 horses, to Kandahar. As soon as the brothers received the king's letter and Shah Beg Khan arrived there, they handed over the keys of Kandahar to him. The two brothers then left Kandahar and came to the king, who welcomed them, looked upon them with friendly eyes and assigned large revenues to them.

A little time before, the king had heard of the death of Sikandar Khan¹⁶. He commanded Mirza Sadr Jahan and Hakim (Humam) to go to Bokhara as ambassadors with letters for Abdullah Khan, the son of the deceased, to condole with him in his loss. He also instructed them that on arriving there they should hold royal obsequies in his name, and in the manner of that country, for which purpose he gave them money from his treasury. Taking leave of the king they left Lahore for Bokhara, and arriving there, went to Abdullah Khan with letters and presents from the king, which they delivered to him, together with the verbal message which they had brought. The royal obsequies consisted in a dinner, to which the whole town, the rich as well as the poor, was invited, and which was served in the open. They remained there for a year and then took leave of Abdulla Khan, carrying with them his reply to Akbar's letters. They left Bokhara with great honours and returned to Lahore. They told the king about the situation of the country of Mawara-un-Nahar, its extent, fortress, and the number of the standing army of Abdulla Khan, for it was chiefly to get this information that they had been sent there, the king being eager to incorporate Bokhara into his empire, so that his name might shine with luster in the world (like that of his ancestor Timorlane).

But he desired first to conquer the famous and distant country of Kashmir, which was then ruled by a foreign king. He sent Qasim Khan Mir-i-Bahr, and Mirza Ali Akbar with his whole army, also giving them letters, in which Yusuf Khan, king of Kashmir, was

assured with many promises and sweet words that if he accepted submission of his own will without war, his reputation and position would not suffer loss, but be augmented. Yusuf Khan, on receiving these letters, instantly left Kashmir, leaving his son Yakub Khān there and placed himself at Akbar's disposal¹⁷. His subjects wondered at it saying that it was sorcery. The king welcomed him but said,¹⁸ "If your heart had been pure and without deceit, you would have brought your son with you and not left him there, for your son is fickle and is easily liable to be misguided by others". This was also what happened. For after his father's departure Yakub Khan began to strengthen the defences of his country and closed the passes, for an independent king hates bondage like a load too heavy to carry. He determined to resist Akbar and to pay no attention to his father. Akbar for a long time considered as to how and in what manner he was to conquer the country, as it was difficult to enter it} on account of high mountains and narrow passes.

Finally he commanded Mirza Ali Akbar Shahi and Qasim Khan to prepare themselves and their army for the expedition, giving them some Kashmirian Omeras who knew the situation of the country. Yakub Shah, learning this, sent some of his nobles and Omeras with a large force to fortify Kothel or pass of the Bhimber mountain. But they went over to Akbar's army, having been won over} by promises, and thus led the army through the passes to the town Kashmir. The town is unwallled and the royal forces occupied it without encountering any resistance. Yakub Khan was captured alive¹⁸ and sent to the king who granted him a mansab or pension, as to his father, but smaller in amount. In order to get rid of them, Akbar sent them with Raja Man Singh when the latter was appointed governor of Bengal.

A long time after this¹⁹ the king made enquiries about the situation of the country of Sind or Thatta and its ruler. This was explained to him and he was told that Mirza Jani, the king of Sind was hated by his subjects on account of his violence and tyranny, so that every one, great or small, was thirsting for vengeance. Akbar chose Khan Khanan for the conquest of Sind and entrusted him with the supreme command of the whole army. He made preparations for taking his

large army down the river Ravi, in shallow draught vessels, well provided with guns and ammunition and provisions for the whole army. When everything was ready, he left with his armada. The river Ravi falls into the river Sind, and so they reached Thatta. King Jani was in Thatta which he had strongly fortified. It is a sea-coast town, and can be approached from many sides by water. Akbar daily sent by water to Thatta guns, provisions and whatever else was required for the army, so that after a siege of six months the town surrendered to Khan-i-Khanan. For Mirza Jani finding that he could not hold out any longer, as much on account of the lack of provisions, as the unwillingness of his troops to fight, surrendered it by agreement on receiving certain promises, and he was sent by Khan-i-Khanan together with his family, to the king. Khan-i-Khanan himself remained there for a year, until he had subdued the whole province and made it part of the king's dominions. The king then sent another governor to take his place.

Mirza Jani arrived in Lahore and was received by the king with great honour²⁰. He remained in Lahore for some time.

The king now learnt that Nizam Shah, the king of the Deccan (Ahmad Nagar) had died. The desire to take possession of the country of Khandes pricked him, and he commanded Khan-i-Khanan to prepare for this expedition. Accompanied by twenty-two Omeras Khan-i-Khanan set out from Lahore with the whole army and arrived at Burhanpur where he met Raja Ali Khan. As soon as the latter saw the letters that Akbar had written to him, he laid them on his head and went to Khan-i-Khanan and made his submission. Khan-i-Khanan spent six months in Burhanpur and recruited many soldiers here²¹.

Chand Bibi, daughter of king Nizam Shah, was in Ahmad Nagar. After her father's death she governed the country wisely with the assistance of a eunuch called Khwaja Suhail who was the captain general of her army, and was famous and much respected by every one for his wisdom and bravery. He came to fight Khan-i-Khanan with an army of 40,000, which included the forces of Bijapur and Golconda. Khan-i-Khanan had 20,000 cavalry under the famous captains Raja Ali Khan and Sayyad Qasim Mirza of Saadit descent, and other Omeras. Taking the two armies together, there were thus 60,000 men, and a great battle took place.

When the battle began Khan-i-Khanan stationed himself with 5,000 cavalry a little away from the line of battle, to assist the weakest part of his army. Fighting continued during the day and throughout night, without the one or the other side giving way. Many thousand of both the sides lay dead on the field, Raja Ali Khan being one of them.

The next day when the royal army was tired and oppressed with fear on account of the many dead and wounded, the enemy made a bold and heavy attack on it. Khan-i-Khanan who with his 5,000 trusted cavalry had taken his stand near the main army, now attacked the enemy, at this most critical moment, with such courage, that in a short time the forces of the Deccan gave way and fled. The enemy general, Khwaja Suhail, was killed in the battle. The king thus gained a remarkable victory on that day.²² A small portion of the Deccan was also conquered, but Chand Bibi, with the help of reinforcements, checked further progress.

The king, who was in Lahore, was very pleased to learn about this victory and the death of Khwaja Suhail. Making his son Shah Murad the commander of 8,000, he sent him immediately to the Deccan²³ with Sadiq Muhammad Khan and other nobles. The prince hurried to Burhanpur by rapid marches, where he remained for six months. He then resolved to attack the Deccan. Shah Murad was skilled in war, but being alone and away from his father, gave himself up to drink, and through excessive drinking fell ill.

When the king learnt this he immediately sent Shaikh Abu! Fazl, his head-chancellor and former tutor of Shah Murad, to Burhanpur to wean him from the drink habit and to restore him to health.

Abul Fazl, travelling rapidly, arrived at Shahpur, where they had taken the prince. He went to see him and found that his condition was hopeless. He had lost consciousness and on the 4th day after Abu! Fazl saw the prince, Shah Murad died.

Many of the princes, Omeras and mansabdars, learning that he was dead, ran away from fear. Abdul Fazl, learning this called the chief Omeras to him as Khan-i-Khanan, Sayyid Yusuf Khan, Sadiq Muhammad Khan and Mirza Shah Rukh and asked them why the Mansabdars were afraid and why they had run away. "It

is because Shah Murad is dead? He was, to be sure, a am prince, still in rank only an Omera, sent by the king his father, on an expedition. May God grant a long life to the king. Now I am the chief and general of the whole army. I shall therefore take charge of the gold and silver left by Shah Murad and distribute it among the Mansabdars and soldiers and prepare for battle ”.

He paid the soldiers their wages the same day and marched 5 coss from Shahpur, encamping not far from the enemy's camp. He sent the corpse of Shah Murad from this place to Delhi.

In the meantime many of the Omeras, mansabdars and Ahadies who had run away, had been found, and were brought to Shaikh Abul Fazl. He ordered them to be trampled to death by elephants in the market of the camp as an example to evil-doers.

After this Abul Fazl wrote to the king about these occurrences ; that when he arrived Shah Murad's condition was hopeless, that he had lost consciousness and power of speech and that he died on the 4th day. "Therefore I have been compelled to distribute the gold and silver left by Shah Murad among the soldiers and mansabdars and prepare for the expedition to Ahmednagar”.

The king read the letter, mourned the death of his son for several days, but wrote a friendly letter to Shaikh Abul Fazl, appointing him to the command of the army.

In the same year the king made his son, Danial Shah, commander of 7,000 horses and sent him to Allahabad, giving him Qulich Muhammad Khan as Diwan and guardian, and many other Omeras to increase his importance. Prince Danial, taking leave of his father, at Lahore, left for Allahabad.

Arriving there, he divided the major portion of his forces, better to subdue various rebels round about.

Shaikh Abul Fazl, who was fighting in the Deccan, brought the greater part of the country, extending from Barar to Khandesh, under the king's sway. Abul Fazl was the chief of all the Omeras and Khan-i-Khanan, Sadiq Muhammad Khan, Sayyid Yusuf Khan and Mirza Shah Rukh dined with him every day.

A few days after this he wrote to the king that if His Majesty went and lived in Agra, they would be easily able to take Ahmada-

nagar, Bijapur, and Golconda. Having read this letter, the king had his tents immediately brought out for the journey to Agra, after having lived for 12 years in Lahore. Travelling without break he arrived in Agra and lived here for a year.

In the year 1007, Muhammadan style, Akbar made up his mind to send Shah Salim with a large army, to reduce the rebel Raja Rana Mardud²⁵ who was the greatest and the most powerful of all the Rajas in Hindustan. He sent with Selim big Omeras as Shah Baz Khan commander of 5, 0 horses, Shah Quli Khan, commander of 3,000 horses, Raja Jagan Nath, commander of 3,000 horses and many other mansabdars, so that he had a strong and splendid force.

In the following year king Akbar resolved to go personally to the Deccan. He had his tents brought out, and set out for Burhanpur, crossed the river Narbada with his large army.

Raja Bahadur Shah who commanded the fort of Asir, learning of Akbar's arrival, prepared for war, provisioning the castle with all kinds of victuals, and making it very strong. The king considered in his mind how he could best lay siege to the castle, and made the necessary preparations. For the castle consisted of three forts, of which the first was called Kohi Juni, the second Kummur Garh, the third, which was very high and could be seen from a distance of six coss seemed to be impregnable.

The king still laid seige to it and personally directed the operations for six months, attacking it every day. When he was about to storm it, Bahadur Shah yielded and on the promise that he would be treated well, and his life and property would be spared, he with his family, threw himself on Akbar's grace, and was brought before His Majesty by Murtaza Khan.²⁶ He showed to the king all his jewels, precious stones and gold and silver of which he had a large quantity and declared himself to be a servant of the king. The king pardoned his offence and granted pensions to Bahadur Shah his brother and other blood relations. The castle of Asir was placed under one of the most trusted of omeras.

The king rejoiced over this victory and now gave his ambition some rest.

Duke Abul Fazl, who was in command of the expedition to Khen-desh, came to the king at this time and met him, at Asir. After

discussing it between themselves, the king resolved to go in person to Khandesh, Bijapur and Golconda, in order to drive out the two kings and annex the whole of the Deccan. If he succeeded in this, he would be content with his great empire for, among the many kings and Rajas who had governed it, he alone would deserve to be called Akbar, the "great" king.

At this time he received the news that Shah Baz Khan Kumbhu, whom he had sent with his son Shah Salim to reduce the Rana, had died soon after arriving at Ajmer, and that all goods and gold and silver, amounting to a crore of ropia, or rupees, ten tons of gold not counting the elephants and the horses, had been siezed by his son, who had collected a large force there and was preparing to march upon Agra with the intention of waging war against his father.

The king therefore abandoned the plans mentioned above and had his tents brought out for the journey to Agra. Shah Danial, who was then with the king was placed in charge of the expedition to Ahmed Nagar and Bijapur with Shaikh Abul Fazl, Khan-i-Khanan and other Omeras and the king set out for Agra.

In the meantime, Shah Salim had arrived in Agra from Ajmer. At this time Mariam Makani, his grandmother, and Qulich Khan were in Agra. They went out of the castle alone to the prince, with some presents. He accepted the presents and permitted them to return to the castle saying, "Have no fear. I do not want the treasures of Agra, but only those of Allahabad" That was only an excuse. He could not capture the castle of Agra.

Therefore marching along Rohan Khas and Anwara²⁷ he crossed the river Jamuna with his army and started for Allahabad which he reached in twelve days. He ruled here as an independent king, appointing his Omeras as governors over places and driving away those of his father, allowing himself to be called king, and receiving the incomes of the places named below and many other towns:—Jaun Pur, Bihar, Kalpi, Lucknow, Oudh, Baraich, Kara Manik Pur, Kora Sultan Pur and Kanoj.

Some of the Omeras and mansabdars of his father entered his service, but the others fled, leaving all they had, and went to their lawful master.

The king returned to Agra from Asir, where with a very anxious mind he began to consider how he should put down his son's revolt. First of all he wrote to Shah Salim that he was ill-advised to do what was impossible of achievement, for it was not God's pleasure that a son's wickedness should prevail against paternal pity. He little knew how great was a father's anger when he was troubled by an unruly child. Therefore there was still time for him to give up his designs. He would be forgiven if he came to Akbar.

But Shah Salim did not listen to his father and remained obstinate, for he had brought under him all the country up to Haji Pur and Patna. Raja Man Singh governed Bengal. Sultan Shah Salim wrote to Man Singh to join him and surrender Bengal, but he refused, and always replied that he was a slave and servant of his father, and that it was not the will of God that he should prove unfaithful to his master and king.

In the same year, prince Danial, who was in the Deccan, prepared for war and marched towards Ahmed Nagar, with his whole army and approached Khandesh. When Chand Bibi learnt that the king's army, filled with anger, was approaching, and that they did not intend to leave Ahmad Nagar before they had captured it, she, with all the omeras of her father Nizam Shah, shut herself up in the castle. She fortified it and got together all that was necessary for its defence. She relied on the strong position of the castle, for it is very high and is surrounded with ditches which are so deep that water springs out of itself there.

The Sultan Danial Shah, Khan-i-Khanan, Abul Fazl, Sayyid Yusuf Khan were brave men but they never hoped that they would capture the castle. They, however, took courage and laid siege to it. And each bulwork made in the moat as it was filled up was placed under an omera, fighting with guns and musket never ceased during the day or the night, and went on for six months. When the castle surrendered to Danial Shah, Chand Bibi took poison and died²⁸. All that the castle contained, precious stones, gold and silver, fell into the hands of Sultan Danial Shah's army.

After this victory he appointed Khwaja Beg Mirza governor of the castle and brought the whole of Khandesh and Berar under king

Akbar's sway, appointing omeras as governors everywhere, Danial Shah returned safely to Burhan Pur and in good health.

The kings of Golconda and Bija Pur sent ambassadors, with presents and letters addressed to the king in which they praised the courage of Danial Shah. This gave great pleasure to the prince. He continued to stay at Burhan Pur and gave himself up to the evil pleasure of drinking day and night.

At this time Shah Salim, feeling some repentence for his misdeeds, sent Khwaja Jahan as his ambassador from Allahabad, to his father Akbar. The king immediately wrote to him as follows:—

“Your evil deeds worry you and your conscience pricks you. Therefore come and make submission at my feet. (A father, out of natural affection, may well so advise his child). I shall overlook all your misdeeds”.

The letter was despatched (to Shah Salim) and after spending six months in Agra, Khwaja Jahan returned to the prince in Allahabad. He told the prince that his father wanted peace and reconciliation. Shah Salim, recognising that it was he who was to blame, agreed to go to his father with Khwaja Jahan, and set out from Allahabas. Traveling without break they arrived at Attauam (Ettawa), from where he wrote a letter to the king in the following terms:—He was ready to go to his father as a criminal, but on the condition that His Majesty permitted him to bring with him 70,000 brave men, and that his nobles and omeras, to whom he had granted incomes and rank, should continue to receive the same treatment and not be regarded as rebels by His Majesty, and that they should be allowed to enjoy the incomes of such lands as he might determine. If his father promised this on oath, he would hasten to place himself as a slave at his service.

The king rejected this offer of pretended submission. Shah Salim therefore speedily returned to Allahabad and began to mint gold and copper in his own name. He sent a specimen of each to his father to spite him²⁹. On seeing them the king was incensed beyond measure and wrote about all that had happened to Abul Fazl, who was then in the Deccan. Abul Fazl replied that he would be there in a few days to serve His Majesty, and, God willing, he would adopt measures to deliver the ill-advised youth living and bound into the hands of His Majesty³⁰.

In a very few days after despatching this letter Abul Fazl obtained leave from Shah Danial and hastened to Agra with a small escort of 200 to 300 horses, leaving his tents, baggage and army to follow him at leisure.

Prince Shah Salim came to know what Abul Fazl had written to the king, and that he was actually on the way. This alarmed him greatly, for he thought "Abul Fazl is my old enemy. If he sees my father, my ruin is certain. I must consider what is to be done about it".

He lost no time in making a request to Raja Bir Singh Bundela, who lived in his territory of Orchha, that he should station himself on the way, and that when Shaikh Abul Fazl approached between Sur and Gwalior, he should kill him and take care that he did not escape: "And send the head of the traitor to me. And, by God's will, I shall make you a commander of 5,000 horses. This is easy to do, for he has only 2 to 200 horses".

Raja Bir Singh accepted the offer and with an army of 5,000 mounted and 3000 foot-soldiers awaited Abul Fazl's arrival on the road, three to four coss from Gwalior. In all places and in each village he posted scouts to bring news (of Abul Fazl's movements), so that he may know when it was time to come out of the ambush and attack.

When Abul Fazl arrived at Kalla Bagh, Sayyid Mustafa the Governor of that place went to see him with 400 cavalry, and accompanied him up to the village Sur and gave him a dinner there, after which he took leave of Abul Fazl and returned to his own place.

The innocent Shaikh was destined to perish here, for as he was going past the village Sur, Raja Bir Singh attacked him both from the right and the left flank.

Abul Fazl, seeing that he had been attacked by an enemy, prepared to resist and to fight, with the determination, which was shared by his escort, not to give way. They were very small in number as compared with the enemy, but they defended themselves, so far as they were able, for half the day. Then the few who had escaped death took to flight. At this time Abul Fazl, who had already received twelve wounds was standing by his horse under a tree.

One of the elephants of Abul Fazl, on which he commonly rode, had in the meantime been given up to Bir Bingham's men by its Pillamien (Filban) or driver. He told them that his master was lying seriously wounded under a tree. Bundela men, going there, cut off Abul Fazl's head and brought it to Raja Bir Singh³. He had it immediately wrapped, and packing it he sent it by runners to Shah Salim at Allahabad. It was delivered to him on the third day. He was overjoyed at Abul Fazl's death and celebrated his joy.

When the king heard of the death of Abul Fazl, who was extremely dear to him, he was overwhelmed with grief. His face bore marks of sorrow for several days and he remained indoors for three days.

A few days later news came from Burhan Pur that his son Shah Danial had died as the result of heavy drinking. This shocked him so much that life began to seem to him to be more miserable than death. "Am I so sinful in the sight of God", he exclaimed, "that He should punish me first by giving me a wicked child, then allow my best friend, whom I loved as much as my own self, to be murdered. Now he takes away from me the staff of old age and the pillar of my empire". His omeras condoled with him with words of resignation.

He wrote a sharp letter to Khan-i-Khanan saying that he was the cause of his son's death, for he did not take care of him, or was guilty of worse. He summoned Khan-i-Khanan to Burhan Pur, but he was not admitted into the King's presence for several days. Then after five or six months, at the intercession of the chief nobles, the offence of Khan-i-Khanan was pardoned, and he was restored to the chief command of the army and sent to the Deccan.

The King had been seriously considering how he should get into his power his disobedient son Shah Salim. One day, being overpowered by anger, he crossed the river Jamuna with his army and pitched his tents (on the other bank) to capture his son by force, living or dead. But just then Maraim Makani, the mother of the King, fell seriously ill in the castle, and there was little hope of saving her life. Learning this, the king changed his mind and recrossing the river, returned to the castle. His mother passed away the next day. He sent the corpse, with great royal honours, to Delhi, where his father Humayun was buried.

A few days later the King learnt that Shah Salim was minting silver rupia in his own name, and inspired by his evil genius, harboured designs against his life. The King therefore sent Mirza Sadar Jahan (formerly Salim's tutor) to him as an intermediary with letters which at first threatened, but were again full of promises, saying, "Your brother Danial is dead, and there is no one left but you. Why do you vex me so? You are bound to inherit the kingdom and there is no one else to deprive you of your place."

He entrusted Mirza Sadar Jahan with other private messages which were to be delivered orally to Salim, with the object of inducing him to yield and to come to him. The Mirza was to try his best to persuade Salim not to take his whole army with him. He was to promise on behalf of the king that Salim's misdeeds would be pardoned and treated as if they had never been committed. Mirza Sadar Jahan, being commanded by the king, went to Sultan Salim, delivered to him the letters of the king, and in private the verbal messages with which he had been entrusted.

All this pleased the Prince, and he decided to yield and to go to his father.

Coming near Agra, he crossed the river Jamuna with his army, and the next day (fixed for the purpose by his soothsayers) went with all his omeras to the court of his father in the castle. Arriving at the gate he performed the customary obeisance to the king, and Murtaza Khan led him into the royal presence.³³ When he reached the pillars of his father's Taecht or throne, he bent himself at his feet. The king took his hand and rising led him into his Mahal, where in excess of anger he hit his son in the face two or three times with his fist, exclaiming furiously; "You have paid no attention to my commands or letters which I have so often written to you. You raised the standard of revolt against me and made yourself king which has put me to shame before all kings. Further you minted gold and rupias in your name. You became a rebel. What did you mean by doing all this while I am still living? And were you not a fool, to come to me led by fear, like a coward? You hope to be king after my death, but if you will rule the country in the same manner in which you have acted so far, your empire will not last long". And more in the same mocking strain, which made the Prince feel afraid.

Having said these words, the king went within, and Commanded that Shah Salim should be confined in a house as a prisoner ⁸⁴.

Raja Basu, one of the omeras of the prince, who had remained outside, took to flight as soon as the Prince entered the gate of the castle and approached his father. And the King's omeras seized all the other omeras of the Prince—Tcalimbador (Salim Bahadur ?) Mirza Sultan and many mansabdars and other followers of the Prince—when the king took the Prince by the hand in order to lead him into the Mahal, and putting chains round their necks, led them as prisoners to their houses, as one drives sheep. All the property of the Prince, nothing excluded, was seized in the king's name. And Sultan Salim, who ate a large quantity of opium every day, was given nothing for a whole day and night. But the next day the king in person went to him and gave him some with his own hand.

On the third day³⁵ all the Begams or the king's women came together and went to the king saying, "Why do you so much torment and chastise the only son that is left to you and who must be your heir? You may drive him to take his life out of desperation. You have forgiven him. Let him also enjoy his freedom".

Thereupon the king commanded that Salim be set free and that he should go to live in his own palace outside the castle. Salim went to do obeisance to his father every day in the Ghushl Khana, entering through the back door of the chabara Shah Burj or the King Bulwark.

A few days later some of the chief nobles or Omeras told the king that Salim sought to kill him and therefore he should not be allowed to bring many people with him into the ghushl khana. Thereupon the king ordered the guards not to allow more than four attendants to enter with him. Accordingly he came daily with only four attendants.

At this time the king decided to give Mirza Ghazi son of Mirza Jani, ex-king of Sind and Thatta, a poisoned pill to eat on account of some words uttered by him during a conversation with Bahadur Shah, ex-king of Asir, not knowing that his enemies were watching them. He said:—"Had my Thatta been as strong as your Asir, I should not thus spend my days in Akbar's power." (such were the

haughty words that he let fall). Akbar called his physician and ordered him to make two kinds of pills, of the same shape and size, but one containing poison and the like that which he took every day. Sitting in the Ghuskhana, he had both the pills brought to him, intending to give the poisoned one to the Mirza and to take the other himself. But as he took the pills they got mixed up in his hand so that he swallowed the poisoned one himself and gave the other, his medicine to Mirza Ghazi. At night, when the poison began to work, he perceived his mistake and had all his physicians summoned to him in all haste to try if they could save his life by means of antidotes or other means. But no remedies they tried were of use, for the poison had already penetrated into the veins and the bones, and had done its work throughout the system and the bowels. The following day Shah Salim paid a visit to his father, who was in great pain. Akbar put his turban on the Prince's head and had him girt with the sword which he had inherited from his father Humayun, but commanded that unless sent for, his son should not be allowed to come to him. Shah Salim therefore returned to his own house outside the castle. Raja Man Singh, Khan Azam and Sultan Khusro, son of Prince Salim, kept watch at Akbar's bedside day and night. At last on the 12th day under the extreme effects of poison, he passed away at noon on.....in the month ofof the year 1014, after having ruled successfully for..years.

When Akbar was dead they closed all the gates of the castle, appointing the most trusted of the omeras to guard each gate. The following omeras assembled in the house of Khan Azam, Murtaza Khan, Sayyid Khan, Qulich Muhammad Khan, Raja Ram Das and Raja Man Singh, and resolved to offer the throne to Sultan Khusrau. Khan Azam and Raja Man Singh wished to carry this resolution into effect, but Raja Ram Das, who had a force of 4000 to 5000 Rajputs with him, went and sat down in the treasury, saying, "Where is the stout-hearted person who will take the treasure without my permission, by violence?" And Sultan Salim, who was in his own palace, summoned his omeras and said, "God has suffered my father to die, and now the traitors have turned against me and wish to make my son King. It will be better if I leave Agra and wait for a few days in Fathpur to see what is the will of God. Just then Murtaza Khan, who was guarding the main gate, went out to the Prince, and

greeted him as King and wished him much happiness as such. So also did Nawab Khan and his son Qulich Muhammad Khan who also went out of the castle and met the Prince. Khan Azam and Raja Azam (Man Singh ?) saw that the chance was gone and were gripped by fear. But Raja Man Singh placed Sultan Khusrau in a boat and took him to his own palace through a gate which opened on the river. Khan Azam also went out of the castle to congratulate Shah Salim. Thus the chief omeras brought Shah Salim into the castle on the third day. The corpse of King Akbar was brought out with great pomp and royal honours and all the omeras, great as well as small, and Sultan Salim, accompanied it on foot. Then the principal omeras asked the Prince to return to the castle, while they buried the corpse in the masoleum of Maryam Mukani, which is in Sikandera, 3 cose from the castle of Agra. Having done this, they returned to the Prince and crowned him King on a Thursday giving him the name King Mohammad Jahangir, whereupon the King gave away much gold and silver and held a royal gathering. On the third day after his proclamation as King, Raja Man Singh and Khan Azam placed Sultan Khusrau, the son of Jahangir, in a boat and brought him down the river to his father in the castle, where he begged forgiveness for the crime which he had committed or had started to commit, and threw himself at the feet of his father. Jahangir, to all outward appearances, forgave him. When the news of the accession of Jahangir to the throne became known everywhere, the Kings of Golconda, Bijapur, the Decan, Persia and Tartary, as also the neighbouring Rajas, sent their ambassadors with an indescribable great number of presents, to wish him much happiness as a ruler, and thus all nobles and princes throughout his empire acknowledged him as their king.

He appointed new governors over many and almost all places and also (other) officers and farmers of revenue. His empire included; Kandhar, Kabul, Kashmir, Ghazni, and Bannazaed, Bangash? Gujarat, Sind or Tattha, Khandesh and Burhanpur, Berar, Bengal, Orissa, Oudh, Malawa, Agra and Delhi with their suburbs. The annual revenue of all these Provinces, according to the account books of the late King Akbar, amounts to 6 areb and 98 caroor dam, which is equal to 3 areb and 49 caroor tanka (20 Takka being according to

the customary reckoning equal to a Ro, or 1 Karor takka equal to 5 lack Ro., or 1 arab (takka) equal to 5 karoor Ro., Total 17 karoor and 45 lack ropia. The greater portion of this revenue is distributed among the nobles and omeras for their maintenance and that of their soldiers.

Akber left behind a treasure which according to the precise details given in the royal account books, amounted to 34 Karoor 82 Lack and 26386 $\frac{3}{4}$ ropia or 34,82,386 $\frac{3}{4}$ ropia ; in the form of cash as gold ashrafi or muhars, silver ropia, and copper coins, wrought gold, silver and copper, precious stones, porcelain, books, tents and accessories, ammunition and other war material, gold and silver work, muslins from different parts of the country, saddles of gold, and other kinds. A detailed statement is given below :—

Cash:—Gold coins called Ashrafies or muhar,	..	19,834,666 $\frac{3}{4}$
each muhar weighing 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ standard mashas, equal to 14 Ropia each. But out of curiosity, he had also some muhars of 100 tolas or 1150 mashas and some of 50 and 25 tolas each. Reducing them to their proper weight of 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ mashas the total number (of ashrafies or muhars) was 6970000, equal in value at 14 Ropia each, to ..	..	97,580 000 $\frac{3}{4}$
Silver coins Ropia, Akbari ..	..	10,0000,000
Copper coins or pāisa amounting to ..	..	766,666
23,0000000. At 30 itaka to the rupee equal to value to Ropia.		

19,834,666 $\frac{3}{4}$

Precious stones, wrought gold and silver work and fine procelain amounted in value to .. 93,820,058

Details as given in the account Books:—

Diamonds, rubies,
emeralds, sapphires

and pearls and other precious stones, valued at	.. 60,520,521
Wrought silver work as pots, dishes, trays, vats, chandeliers, columns, bed-steads and other articles too numerous to mention	.. 2,225,838
Wrought gold work used as ornaments or otherwise	.. 19,006,745
Gold work as pots, dishes, spoons various figures cast in gold as of elephants. cam- els, horses etc	.. 9,507,992
Copper work as pots, dishes, trays, and washing troughs	.. 51,225
Fine porcelain, as large dishes, trays, flasks, and cups, extraor- dinarily curious,	.. 2,507,747

93,820,068

Articles required to adorn palaces: cloth made of gold, silver, silk and wool; Lahore and Persian carpets, cushions, counterpanes and curtains. Articles used for travelling: tents, shamianas, kanaits (Canopies) of gold and silver cloth, embroidered velvets etc. More gold and silver cloths, satins, velvets, muslins from Bengal and other equipment of war as muskets, armour, lances, pikes and swords (those kept in the king's palace). Books

written by great and learned authors and copied by skilled scribes. Saddles, horse-trappings and what is required for the stables. Cloth imported from Christian countries, Persia and Turkey and also that made in the country. Pomari (pomber or fine shawls) and other manufactures of Kashmir. The total value of these articles (for details see below) amounted to

.. 56,059,649

Gold and silver cloths
of Persia, Turkey and
Gujerat and those
imported from Chris-
tian countries ; satins
velvets, armosijn
kamelot etc ; muslins
of Bengal and other
provinces that are
mentioned in the
account books

.. 015,509,979

Woollen cloth imported
from Christian coun-
tries and Persia.
Pomeri and other
manufactures of
Kashmir

.. 503,252

Tents, Shamiana, kanaets
and all that is required
for furnishing palaces
and for travelling.

.. 99,25,545

24000 books written by
great authors and co-
pied, and magnificently
bound.

.. 6,463,731

Canons, guns, muskets,
lead for bullets, gun-

.. 8,575,971

powder and whatever
 else is required in war
 Armour, shields, swords, 75,55,525
 poniards, bows, arrows
 and similar weapons.
 Saddles, bridles, horse- 25,25,646
 trappings of gold and
 silver and what is
 required for the stables.
 Arrow-proof coats worn 50,000,000
 when going to war,
 covered with gold and
 embroidered cloth.
 Also poniards, and
 muskets.

Total	..	56,059,649	-----
Grand Total	..		348,226,383

Roll of the ommerauws and mansabdars, from the highest to the
 lowest who, after Akbar's death entered Jahangir's service
 and were enumerated and entered in the royal register :

		Horse.
8 Ommerauws, each commander of 5000 horse, who must keep this number, but do not do so.	..	40,000
9 Commanders of 4500 horse	..	40,500
25 Ommerauws of 4000 horse	..	100,000
30 Ommerauws of 3500 horse	..	100,000
36 Ommerauws of 3000 horse	..	108,000
42 Ommerauws of 2500 house	..	105,000
45 Ommerauws of 2000 horse	..	90,000
51 Ommerauws of 1500 horse	..	75,500
55 Ommerauws of 1000 horse	..	55,000
58 Ommerauws of 700 horse	..	40,600
80 Mansabdars of 500 horse	..	40,000
73 Mansabdars of 400 horse	..	29,200

58	Mansabdars	of	350	horse	..	..	20,300
72	Mansabdars	of	300	horse	..	..	21,600
15	Mansabdars	of	250	horse	..	..	21,250
150	Mansabdars	of	200	horse	..	..	30,000
242	Mansabdars	of	150	horse	..	..	36,300
300	Mansabdars	of	100	horse	..	..	30,000
245	Mansabdars	of	80	horse	..	..	19,600
397	Mansabdars	of	60	horse	..	..	23,820
298	Mansabdars	of	40	horse	..	..	11,920
240	Mansabdars	of	30	horse	..	..	7,200
232	Mansabdars	of	20	horse	..	..	4,640
110	Mansabdars	of	10	horse	..	..	1,100
741	Ahdis	of	4	horse	..	..	2,946
1322	Ahdis	of	3	horse	..	..	3,965
1428	Ahdis	of	2	horse	..	..	2,856
950	Ahdis	of	1	horse	..	..	950

7281 Om nerauws, munsabdars & Ahadis must furnish 10,68,243
 Roll of elephants, horses, camels, dro- .. 32,234
 medaries, mules and oxen, their total num-
 ber being.

Number.

Elephants, great and small, male and female, .. 6,751
 of which 100 are of extraordinary size and
 beauty.

Horses, large and small, of Persia, Arabia, Turkey, .. 12,000
 Cutch and Sindh.

Of which Persian horses 3,200 of exceptional quality
 and beauty.

Of Turkey .. 5,970

Of Cutch and this coun- 2,540

try.

Of the mountainous (?) 210

region called Sind.

Mares from different 120

countries.

12,000

Dromedaries and camels	.. 6,223
Of which drometae- 523	
Camels of this country 5,700	

 6,223

Mules and oxen for drawing carts	.. 7,260
Mules -- -- 260	
Oxen for drawing carts 7,000	

 7,260

 Grand Total .. 32,234

Some time afterwards intelligence arrived that Lal Koli had attacked a great caffila (caravan) and robbed it of all goods. Abdul Khan therefore set out with a force of cavalry to punish Lal Koli. The latter on learning this, sent ahead 2-3000 cavalry of his gr̄asias and 10-20,000 infantry to oppose Abdulla Khan. But through the great good fortune of King Jahangir, Abdulla Khan defeated Lal Koli who fell in the battle. His head was cut off and sent to Ahmadabad (to be hung on the gates of the castle). In this battle 3-4000 followers of Lal Koli were cut to pieces. After this victory, Abdulla Khan again returned to Ahmadabad.

Khan Jahan, who had been sent to Burhanpur to make war upon Malik Ambar, had achieved nothing. He wrote a letter to the King excusing himself (and saying), that Ambar was very strong, that there was disunion among his amirs, some of them being evilly-disposed, and that it would be better if the King sent a Prince there. Thereupon the King ordered Sultan Purvez to proceed to Burhanpur with his army and sent Raja Ramdas and his son with him. The Sultan arrived safely in Burhanpur³⁷. He wrote a letter to Abdulla Khan and Quth-ul-Mulk and also sent envoys to them to enquire why the annual presents and tribute which were due to King Jahangir had not been forthcoming for such a long time; "Therefore speedily make them ready and send them to the King, so as not to enrage him further" Abdula Khan and Quth-ul-Mulk replied that the old presents which were due were long ready, but the Prince should send a person of quality and authority to receive them, and that he should demand from Malik Ambar the tribute which he owed, or, if he refused, to compel

him by force to pay, it. Thereupon Sultan Purvez sent Khan Jahan, Raja Man Singh and Raja Ramdas with a very large army to Balaghat to drive out the forces of Malik Ambar. In those days hard battles were fought between the King and Deccans every day.

The King then³⁸ sent Khan Azam with 3-4000 Ahadis to Burhan Pur and set out in person for Ajmer³⁹ when he again heard that Raja Rana had returned and re-conquered Udaipur Pur Mandal and the country round about, he sent Prince Khurran with some forces against the Rana, ordering him to subdue that country, and, above all, to capture the Raja alive. Following the command of his father the Prince set out from Ajmer and arrived in Udaipur, which he made his headquarters. He sent out his forces and men every day to all places to subjugate the country, which was accomplished by force and in a solidly manner. In the end Raja Rana was so much worried that he was inclined to conclude peace with Khuram. To that end the Prince sent him an elephant, horses, a poniard and dresses of honour requesting the Rana to send to him his son named Karn, who would be presented to the King, (and saying) that by this means he would have made amends before the King for his offences and that he (Karn) would be treated well. Thereupon as the result of persuasion and earnest promises of Sultan Khurram, he sent his son Karn to the Prince in Udaipur with many presents, among them an elephant named Alan Guman. They were conducted to the Prince and on this day he held great feasts and entertainments, and presented to Karn elephants, horses, a sword and a poniard and some precious stones of the value of 100,000 lack ropia. The Prince took Karn to Ajmer and placed him at the feet of the King. The offence of the Rana was forgiven. Sultan Khurran presented the elephant of Raja Rana, Alan Guman, or the pride of the world, to the King. The King was greatly pleased and took Karn into his own service bestowing upon him the Province of Udaipur, Pur Mandal and surrounding region as Jagir⁴⁰. The King spent his time in Ajmer in hunting every day.

Khan Azam who had been sent before with 4000 Ahadis to Burhan Pur, summoned Khan-i-Jahan from Moluck Khoor, and the greatest and most trusted nobles of the King jointly decided that Khwaja Abdul Hassan, Raja Man Singh and Raja Ramdas, with all

other amirs, should advance towards Ballaghat, and that Khan-i-Khanan and Khan-i-Jahan should follow them as rear-guard. To oppose them Malik Ambar had gathered 20000 horse, in addition to 20,000 horse sent by Adil Khan and 10,000 horse sent by Qutb-ul-Mulk as help. With 50,000 horse Malik Ambar prepared for war.

Abdulla Khan who was at this time the governor-general of Gujarāt, was ordered by the King to prepare himself, and the forces that were with him, to go to the Deccan in order to assist in the war against Malik Ambar. On receiving this command he equipped himself and his army for the expedition, and set out from Ahmadabad towards the Deccan where the royal forces were. He reached Kaharki (modern Aurangabad) which is the capital of the Deccan (but is an open place) from where the invincible fortress of Daulatabad is at a distance of 5-6 coss, and here Malik Ambar had arrived to offer battle. Abdulla Khan and his troops were still at some distance when Malik Ambar sent Taussen against him, who put Abdulla Khan to flight. Even then the army of the King numbered 100,000 horse, and when it came to march, Malik Ambar was frightened and fled with all his troops, excepting Maulana Muhammad Lahri, who was the vakil of Adil Khan and had come as general-in-chief to assist Malik Ambar with his 20,000 horse. He employed a stratagem to deceive the amirs Raja Man Singh, Raja Ram Das and Khan-i-Khanan, without spending too much money on presents. He forged a letter purporting to be written on account of King Jahangir and addressed to the Amirs, Raja Man Singh and others, and sent it by disguised messengers. The contents were that the King was dead and that therefore they should leave the Deccan and return for choosing another King. "Why were they, in those circumstances wasting their time in making wars?" When Raja Man Singh showed this letter to the other amirs, their courage failed them. They resolved to strike their tents, which had been pitched right in front of the enemy (with the object of giving battle) and to return to Burhan Pur.

Abdulla Khan, who was much harrassed by the enemy, also received this false Farman, or the forged letter of the King, from Raja Man Singh. He set fire to all his baggage and tents and fled, leaving his troops in Haliaghieran, (Baglana) with the order to hold the place for the King. He himself returned to Gujarat by the way he had

come. The amirs who had arrived close to Kharki, all returned to Burhan Pur, leaving some of their troops in the places through which they passed. At this time Malik Ambar, having received reinforcements, re-conquered all the country that had been occupied by the Moghals, fortified all places, towns and castles and rendered them capable of offering better resistance. At the end of the few days it was found that the Farman was false, and the report of this misunderstanding reached the King's ears. He wrote very angry letters to all the amirs, and himself came from Ajmer to Mandau from where he sent Mahabat Khan as governor-general of Burhan Pur and Baraer. Mahabat Khan, in the capacity of Governor-general and Commander-in-chief, again despatched an army against Malik Ambar and occupied all the country up to Kharki, which for a second time came under the King's sway⁴¹. The King stayed for one year and 5 months in Mandau⁴². He then decided to visit the Province of Gujarat and arrived safely in Ahmadabad⁴³. At this time Abdulla Khan was sent from Gujarat to govern the Province of Kalpi and Kher⁴⁴. The King, after spending a year in Gujarat in hunting, left Ahmadabad and returned towards Agra⁴⁵.

When the King learnt that Shah Beg who was the governor of Kandahar, had grown very old and decrepit, he recalled him and sent Bahadar Khan to take the place of the old man as governor⁴⁶. Shah Beg came to Fathe Pur and sat at the King's feet; having celebrated the Nauroz there, King returned to Agra⁴⁷.

Islam Khan was the Governor-General of Bengal. The King sent to him Shujat Khan Shaikhzada, Governor-Designate of Orissa, and the latter went to visit Islam Khan in Dacca. At this time Usman Khan Afghan or Pathan, who had for some years ruled as an independent king over all the country between Orissa and Dacca, up to the very boundaries of Bengal, and had occupied a little of the land of the King and other Rajas, invaded Dacca with a very powerful army. Islam Khan as the Commander-in-chief, sent Shujat Khan, with Iftikhar and Ihtiman Khan to oppose him. These and all other nobles in the King's service advanced to Dacca to give battle to Usman. Islam Khan remained 10-15 coss in the rear to come to their assistance in the battle, when necessary, with fresh troops. The battle between the two armies began and Mirza Iftikhar and Mirak

Bahadur charged with their troops, and drove back those of Usman. But Usman Khan had a large and fierce war elephant whom he now sent forward among the royal troops, and the Pathans, from behind the elephant, made a charge killing Mirza Iftikhar. The elephant penetrated further, up to the place where Shujaat Khan was sitting on an elephant, and charged him. Shujaat Khan from fear fell to the ground and broke a leg. His men raised him and took him away. The troops of Usman Khan pressed hard and the royal army broke and fled. But by the grace of God it happened that a royal musketeer was lying wounded in the way. He could not run away but had his gun, and fired, luckily hitting Usman Khan, who was sitting alone on an elephant, in the eye. He fell down in the ambary, and his troops could see that he had been seriously wounded. His brother and other relations then came, and taking him out of the ambary, fled. Usman Khan died at 3 o'clock and was buried. Those of the royal troops that had fled far away were rejoiced to hear about the turn that events had taken and gradually returned to the others. Islam Khan was informed about all this, and on the second day he came for the first time to the place where the battle had been fought. Shujaat Khan who had broken his leg, died in two or three days. Islam Khan pursued the fugitives, *i. e.*, Usman Khan's brother, his widow and the children, and captured all of them alive. All the elephants, treasure and various effects of Usman Khan were seized in the name of the King. After his victory Islam Khan returned to Dacca, which is the capital of Bengal, and sent the brother and family of Usman, and the property that had been seized, to the King⁴⁸. In the year (1028 A. H.) the King resolved to journey from Agra to Lahore, where travelling daily he arrived safely⁴⁹.

Abdulla Khan, who had been appointed governor of Kalpi and Kher, manfully exterminated all the Rajas of Grathias (Ganwars and Chohan chohants) and other rebels,⁵⁰ who were the inhabitants of that tract and had never before been subdued by any amir. He beheaded the leaders and enslaved their women, daughters and children, who were more than 2 lacks in number, and, stringing them together, sent them to Iran to be sold (there). He pulled down their castles and fortresses, and levelled them to the ground.

The King, now in Lahore, decided to send an Eltsie, or envoy to

King Shah Abbas. He selected Khan Azam for that mission a prudent nobleman of high birth. The King summoned him and asked him if he was willing to go to Shah Abbas, King of Iran as his representative. With this object, all toffas and novelties which were made or found in his country alone, were collected from all places, *e. g.*, gold cloths of Gujarat and other (cloths or articles) which are woven or made there, large, wonderful cups of agate, embroidered cloths of silver and gold, carpets of Lahore and Agra, Bengal muslins interwoven with gold, and also white muslin, cassen malseya, (Khasa Muslins) and other varieties of muslin, the like of which in fitness or workmanship was not to be found, pretty ghanzieers or pogniards inlaid with precious stones and swords of similar kind, beautiful shields and thousand other novelties of a total value of 70 lack ropia. Khan Azam was entrusted with them, and he was given 60 lack ropia in cash from the royal treasury for his expenses. Good and true men were appointed to accompany him on the journey and Khan Azam set out from Lahore towards Isfahan as ambassadar with royal pomp. The King had given him a letter for Shan Abbas, written in an affectionate and brotherly, way, in which he also spoke highly of Khan Azam as his friend and brother and said that he would regard the honour shown to Khan Azam as if it had been shown to himself. Travelling daily Khan Azam arrived in Harat where Hasen Beg was governor on behalf of Shah Abbas. He came a few miles to receive Khan Azam and took Khan Azam and those accompanying him with marks of great honour to the town of Herat. Great feasts and enterainments were held there and they received many presents. Leaving that place, Khan Azam arrived near Isfahan. Shah Abbas had sent his greatest ommerauw Kontsalighan with many others 20 coss ahead to receive Khan Azam with all possible honour and to bring him. Thus Khan Azam was taken to Isfahan with the highest and greatest possible honour and pomp, and immediately went to see Shah Abbas. When he approached him, Shah Abbas stood up and advanced a few steps to meet Khan Azam, and embraced him in a very friendly manner, and both of them took their seats. All Kinds of feasts and rejoicings were held and great entertainments were given in which all masters of play and dance exhibited (their skill). All dignitaries were invited to the feast, to which there was no end to meet Khan Azam. (Shah Abbas's)

affection for Khan Azam grew from day to day, and he kept Khan Azam in his company, showing him all the country of Iran, and spending their time in hunting and amusements every day. The manner in which the greatest honour should be shown to Khan Azam, when departing, was then considered. Toffas and valuable articles were collected from all places to show the same high regard for King Jahangir as he had shown for Shah Abbas, *e. g.* 500 magnificent Persian horses, 20 mules of extraordinary size and beauty, 500 dams of mules, 50 splendid dromedaries and 100 dames of the same, a few loads of *armosijn*, (silk) velvets and other cloths which were made there, and novelties of other countries which could be procured thers. All this was made ready and thanking Khan Azam for the presents received, (although the presents were mutual) Shah Abbas gave him leave to return to Hindustan, sending an ambassador with him to presents (the toffas) mentioned above on his behalf to his brother King Jahangir as a token of mutual friendship, with a letter full of thanks for the honour shown to him and praising the wisdom of and the pleasant intercourse with Khan Azam. He added that he considered himself fortunate that he had enjoyed two years of Khan Azam's society. Verbally he asked Khan Azam to remind the King that Kandahar belonged to him, having inherited it from his father and grandfather, and that it had been delivered into Akbar's hands by an unworthy subject of his. "My brother will have done a very good thing", he said, "if he gives it back. If he desires to have some other towns of my country of Iran in exchange for it, let him send a representative, and they will be delivered to him." After this conversation, Khan Azam took leave from Shah Abbas and set off on his journey back to Lahore, where the King was. Here the toffas that Shah Abbas had sent with his ambassador and Khan Azam were displayed before the King. He also read (Shah Abbas') letter, which contained many expressions of mutual friendship and and praise of Khan Azamst.

The King now, for the first time, started on a visit to Kashmir. Sultan Khusru, who was in the custody of Asaf Khan was taken from him and placed in the charge of Khan Jahan. At this time Mahabat Khan was the governor of Kabul and Bengal.

Islam Khan died in Bengal in this year⁵³, and his brother Shah Qasim, who was the governor of Patna, was appointed governor of Bengal in his place. In the meantime Ikram Khan, the son of Islam Khan, was going from Dacca to the King with all the property left behind by his father, and Shaikh Qasim was on the way from Patna to Dacca, to take up his office of governor. Qasim Khan met Ikram Khan near Raj Mahal, and inspired by old hate, he forcibly seized some elephants and other property of his nephew. When Ikram Khan reached the King, he related all that happened and complained of the violence done to him. The King was seriously displeased, and not one year had passed since Qasim Khan's appointment as governor of Bengal, when he was removed from office and recalled⁵³, and Ibrahim Khan, a relation of Nur Jahan Begum⁵⁴, was appointed commander of 5000 horse and sent to Bengal in his place. When Shaikh Qasim heard the news that his successor was coming, he left Dacca met him near Raj Mahal. The King had ordered that Ibrahim Khan should take from him and keep in his custody all the elephants and other property that he had forcibly seized from his nephew, and also a little of the King's money which he had taken from Dacca. Ibrahim Khan wrote to Shaikh Qasim to this effect, but he refused and the altercation led to a fight. Shaikh Qasim put to death all his mahel or women, so as not to be hampered by them (in his flight) or prevent their falling into the hands of his enemy, and fled with a few friends. All the property of Qasim Khan fell into the hands of Ibrahim Khan, who took it all with him to Dacca⁵⁵. Here all ommerauws, mansabdars, rajas and inhabitants of the country came to welcome Ibrahim Khan and placed themselves under his authority. He then learnt that the King had sent a large army against the rebels of Mocnain⁵⁶. Ibrahim set out with all his forces to assist the royal troops, and defeated the Mochains, putting many of them to the sword and enslaving a great number. A large amount of booty elephants and goods fell into his hands. After this victory he returned to his Province and the town of Dacca and he sent to the King as presents all the elephants that had been captured or the best among them. He also related in detail how the Mochainders had revolted and how he fought and vanquished them. The King, having learnt this and seen the presents, was much pleased and praised the courage of Ibrahim Khan. He sent to him horses, a sword, and a poniard.

as marks of his pleasure and changed his name from Ibrahim Khan to Firoz Jang Khan and wrote a very kind letter to him.

In the same year ⁵⁷ the King sent Murtaza Khan on an expedition to Kangra to capture the fortress which had always remained in the possession of the Kafirs or heathens, who had never submitted to the kings of Delhi but this fortress is very strong. It is enclosed on all sides by high mountains and has a deep ditch round it. For 50 coss around the fortress there is a jungle or wilderness, through which there is a narrow pathway. Nevertheless Murtaza Khan set off for Kangra with 4000 soldiers of Bokhara, among whom were also his brother and many friends. He was also given other ommerauws and forces and guns and ammunition of war. He took with him many thousands stone and wood-cutters on account of the vast jungle and the narrow pathway. Under such conditions having a fight constantly and encountered dangers he could not advance more than $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ coss daily. It was only after 8 months that he arrived near the fortress. The inhabitants of Kangra were in great straits, and all that region was brought under the King's authority, with the exception of the fortress which could not have held out much longer. But it was God's will that Murtaza Khan should suddenly fall ill, and he died two days later. It was thus that this great and difficult expedition produced no result. Although King's governors had been appointed over all places, yet the principal strong-hold remained in the possession of the caffirs.

The King visited Kashmir for a second time in the year 1028. He then returned to Lahore. Sultan Khusrau was still in the custody of Khan Jahan. Nur Jahan and her brother, Asaf Khan, begged the King to put Khusrau in the charge of his brother Sultan Khurram, and to send Khurram on an expedition to the Deccan, as for several years the kings of Bijapur and Golconda had not sent any presents to the King, and Malik Ambar had brought the whole of Khandes and Berar under his sway. At this request the King gave Sultan Khusrau in the charge of his brother Khurram. For the expedition to the Deccan he made Khurram commander of 40,000 horse, gave him funds and sent with him Khwaja Abdul Hasan and other great ommerauws.⁵⁸ He honoured him with presents of ele-

phants, horses robes, a sword and a poniard—the highest honour that the King could bestow upon him—and gave him leave to start on his journey to the Deccan. Khan-i-Khanan with all the Rajput army was in Burhan Pur.

At this time⁵⁹ Bahadar Khan Uzbek, who was the governor of Kandahar, was recalled and in his place Abdul Aziz Khan was sent to govern Multan. Bahadur Khan was sent on an expedition to capture the fortress of Kangra and its mountainous region.

Abdulla Khan, who was the governor of Kalpi and Khair, was ordered to proceed to the Deccan in order to assist Sultan Khurram, and a similar order was sent to Raja Bir Singh Bundela. At this time Sultan Purwez ruled Patana and the surrounding country and enjoyed its income.

In the year 1029 Raja Rana, the father of Karn, died in his territory. Karn, who was then at court, was sent there to take the place of his father. All the Rajas and the inhabitants there acknowledged Karn as their ruler on behalf of the King. Raja Karn sent his brother Raja Bhim with 2-3000 Rajputs to assist Sultan Khurram.

Sultan Khuram arrived with his large army safely in Burhan Pur where he met Abdulla Khan, his brother, Yadgar Khan, and other nobles appointed for the purpose.

Bir Singh with all his Rajput forces came to Burhan Pur to Sultan Khurram called Shah Jahan. Abdulla Khan, (Raja Bir Singh), Khwaja Abdul Hasan and other ommerauws were sent ahead to wage war against Malik Ambar, and the Prince himself remained behind. He sent Jodu Rai and Mirza Makki to Qutb-ul-Mulk at Golconda, with letters from the King and his own sign-manual, and Muhammad Taqi to Adil Khan at Bijapur, earnestly pointing out that the tribute that they used to pay to his father had not been paid for three or four years. He called upon them to make it ready and send it by persons of authority. He added that he would not agree to any delay, but had the intention of sending his army to exact it by force, and in addition, to attack and drive them out. He made this known everywhere. Abdulla Khan, Lala Bart Singh, Yadgar Khan and Lashkar Khan and other ommerauws

crossed the Ballaghat with their army, and Prince Sultan Khurram followed them at a distance of 10 or 12 coss. The royal army that was marching ahead engaged in a skirmish with Malik Ambar, which developed into a general battle. They made such a fierce attack that in a short time the Deccani and Berghians fled like sheep and the royal forces entered Kharki, Malik Ambar's capital town and place of residence. Kharki was burnt and destroyed and the palace levelled to the ground. Although Malik Ambar fought five or six times against the royal forces, and always hoped for a good result, he was always defeated and put to flight. The Provinces of Khandes and Berar and the surrounding region were brought under the authority of the King. Shahzada Shah Jahan, after the victory returned to Burhan Pur with all his army and baggage, celebrating his joy and leaving his governors and soldiers in all places for the security of the lands that he had reconquered. He decided to rest for a time in Burhan Pur and wrote a letter to the King describing faithfully and in detail how Malik Ambar had been defeated and all the country of Khandes and Berar re-occupied. The King was sincerely pleased to know about the victory. All the presents made by the Kings of Bijai Pur and Golconda were sent by the Prince to his father, and they were exhibited before him.

In the year 1030 the King returned from Lahore to Agra. He resided for most of the time in the garden of Sultan Perwez on the upper bank of the river, or in Tsemonger, and spent his time in hunting. In this year Itimad-ud-Daulah, the Chief Wazir of the King died⁶⁰. He was buried in his garden on the upper bank of the river. All that he left behind, money, jewels, elephants, horses, nothing excepted, were presented by the King to his daughter, Nur Jahan Begum. Khwaja Abdul Hasan was made diwan by the King in the place of the deceased⁶¹.

Sultan Khurram, who had Sultan Khusrau, his elder brother, in his custody, through bad advice and in order to make himself certain of the succession (being the younger brother) began to consider how he could kill his brother without arousing any suspicion that he had been murdered by his order. He called together Khan-i-Khanan and his most trusted ommerauws and told them his purpose and (further) that he wished to go on a hunting party that day. He left Burhanpur

with all his ommerauw, leaving a slave named Riza in the palace with the order to go to Khusrau at night and strangle him to death. Following his order this slave with some of his associates went to Sultan Khusrau at night but found him asleep. They knocked at the door which was bolted inside, until the Prince awoke and cried, "Who are you that knock at my gate at this late hour ?," The Slave replied, "I am Raza Gholam of Shah Jahan," "The King has sent a Saropa or dress for you, which I have brought," Sultan Khusrau said, "Where is the hurry that you come so late in the night ? I shall take the King's Saropa and put it on next morning." But the more the Prince refused to open the door, the more did the slave Riza persist. Finally seeing that Sultan Khusru would not open the door, he ordered that it should be unhinged. They did so and entered the room. The Prince got up and groped for a sword, poniard or knife with which to kill the slave, but found only waterpot which he threw at the slave. The Prince was all alone and defenseless and there were 6 or 7 of those wicked men. Although he made a great noise by shouting, and with his hands and feet, no one heard him. They threw him on the ground and sat on his chest. One of them took a cord and putting it round his neck, drew it tight till he was dead. They then lifted the body and laid it in the bed, as if he had died a sudden natural death. They then placed the door in position as before, closed it and went away.

Early in the morning came the wife of Sultan Khusrau, the daughter of Khan Azam, who had slept in another room. She found the door open, here husband seemed to be sleeping in his bed. Seeing that he did not move, she touched his face with her hand, and found that he was cold and dead. She ran out and began to scream and cry whereupon all maid servants and others came running to her. Their shrieks seemed to reach the sky and the report spread everywhere and every one was sad and over terrified by the sudden death of Sultan Khusrau. At first no one thought but that he had died a natural death. Shah Jahan had proceeded 5 or 6 coss on his hunt when learning that (his plan) had succeeded, immediately returned to Burhan Pur. He summoned all his ommerauw and mansabdars to bear witness to the letter that he wrote to the King concerning his brother's death that his hour had come and that he died suddenly.

They all confirmed this with their seals or signatures. The corpse of Sultan Khusrau was taken out of the town, and buried in a garden. At the time when the corpse was being carried to the grave, Matab Nur-ud-din Quli who happened to be present wrote in detail to the King about all that had happened. When the King received the news of the death of his son, he was overwhelmed with grief and wrote a very angry letter to the ommerauw who were with Shah Jahan enquiring why they had failed to write to him the truth, whether his son had died a natural death or been murdered by some one. He ordered that the corpse should be exhumed and sent to Allahabad, to be buried in his mother's garden, and that the widow of Sultan Khusrau, with his son and friends, should be brought to Lahore.

The King then called Khan Azam and condoled with him the death of his son-in-law. He made Sultan Bulaqi, the son of Khusru, commander of 5000 horse, and placed him in the lap of Khan Azam appointing the latter his grandson's guardian.⁶²

In this year,⁶³ Abdulla Khan, being offended, left Burhan Pur without Shah Jahan's permission and went to Kalpi. When the King learnt this he wrote an angry letter to Abdulla Khan asking him why he had left Shah Jahan without permission. "If you care for Mansab or income," the King wrote, "return to Burhan Pur, and it will please me." Abdulla Khan, fearing the King Jahangir, returned from Kalpi to Burhan Pur.

At this time the King received the news that Shah Abbas had got together an army to capture Kandahar. Asaf Khan was then the governor of the Kandahar on behalf of the King, who wrote to him (Asaf Khan) that he should fortify the place and furnish it with provisions, and that he would send reinforcements. He wrote to Khan Jahan, who was then the governor of Multan, to procure large supplies of rice, butter and salt to go with all his forces to assist Asaf Khan. In the meantime the Quzlbash had arrived near Kandahar and laid siege to the castle, but Asaf Khan and the other ommerauw of the King made sorties every day fought with guns and muskets and did all that lay in their power. Asaf Khan wrote to the King many times that he should quickly send relief or Kandahar would fall, since they were hard pressed. But although the King ordered Khan Jahan to

go to assist Asaf Khan with all his forces, he always raised difficulties.

In the same year ⁶⁴ Mahabat Khan was the governor of Kabul and Abdulla Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, Laskkar Khan, Raja Bir Singh and other ommerauw were in Burhan Pur with Shah Jahan. He (Shah Jahan) called them together and made them promise on oath that they would be true to him. He wanted to revolt against his father, and expected that they would not only be not disloyal to him, but gird him with the sword of his father the King. All of them promised this on oath. After this Abdulla Khan went to Kalpi with Shah Jahan's permission.

The siege of Kandahar was being hard pressed. The King was much concerned as to whom to send for its relief. All the ommerauws advised the King that if Abdulla Khan was sent there with an army, a favourable result might be expected. Thereupon the King sent a horse and a Saropa with a letter to Abdulla Khan, ordering him, as soon as he received the letter, to prepare for the King's service. Abdulla Khan obeyed the order without delay, and came from Kalpi to the King at Lahore, having with him 5000 brave cavalry and 120 elephants. He held a parade of his well mounted soldiers and they carried out manoeuvres of war before the eyes of the King which pleased him so well that he gave the daughter of Dhana in marriage to Abdulla's son named Mirza Khan.

Aziz Khan had defended the town of Kandahar for 6 or 7 months, but now came the news that Shah Abbas of Iran had personally arrived before Kandahar with all his army and artillery. The great umras were of the opinion that the town could not hold out against such a force and that reinforcements would not reach Kandahar in time. They therefore advised the King to present the town, which was the cause of the war, to Shah Abbas, and that as soon as the governor should receive the letter, he should hand over the town to Shah Abbas.⁶⁵ This was decided so that it might not appear that the town was won by force. Aziz Khan received the letter, but did not believe the contents, and Shah Abbas was compelled to undermine the town (that is the castle). He ordered a mine to be dug under the principal bulwark, and when the gunners had filled it with some powder and lighted it, the whole bulwark blew up and the way to enter

the fort was opened. When Shah Abbas ordered his soldiers to march into the castle through the breach, Abdul Aziz Khan and other umra saw that matters had reached an extreme and sent (representatives) to Shah Abbas to ask for Kaul or promise to spare their lives. Shah Abbas ordered his soldiers not to touch Abdul Aziz Khan or other umra of the King or their goods but lead them without hindrance out of the town. Thus Abdul Aziz Khan or other umra left with their property and made humble submission to Shah Abbas. Shah Abbas now seized all their goods, gave them a little money for their journey and some presents of horses and dresses, to enable them to return to their King. Thus Kandahar fell again into the hands of Shah Abbas. He appointed Gunj Ali Khan, one of his most trusted umras as governor and returned to Ispahan.⁶⁶

The King was still considering whether he should send Abdulla Khan with other umra to Kandahar and have treasure for this purpose brought from Agra. But he worried himself as to whom to send to Agra to bring the treasure. He decided to employ Asaf Khan, the brother of Nur Jahan Begum for that service. At the King's command he prepared (for the journey) and set out for Agra. Here the eunuch Itibar Khan was treasurer and controlled everything. He did not wish to entrust the royal treasure to Asaf Khan, but after long persuasion and persistent demand he gave the order to get the money ready. But he set to work very slowly and caused vexatious delay in making new leather bags, in filling the bags and in counting them, although Asaf Khan would have gladly given a receipt acknowledging to have received all full and complete without counting them. The soothsayers named an auspicious day on which the treasure of gold and silver was to be brought out and, in accordance with the King's command, to be handed over to Asaf Khan. In the meantime Asaf Khan had written to Shah Jahan that as soon as he left Agra with the treasure, the Prince should rapidly follow him in the region between Agra and Delhi, he would hand over the treasure to him.⁶⁷ The plan was very pleasing and acceptable to the Prince who hoped through this means, to successfully carry out his intention.

This Shah Jahan was a very bold and ambitious person, and for a long time he had been planning to seize the kingdom during his father's life time. To increase his chances of success, he had married

the daughter of Asaf Khan, because his mother-in-law, her brother and other nobles of Khurasau were persons of the greatest power—indeed they were all-in-all in the kingdom, and could therefore be useful to him. Through his winsomeness and liberal distribution of money he had won the friendship and devotion of his own Umra and of those who had been sent by his father to serve under him. He enjoyed the revenue of a large territory, given to him by his father, extending from Mandu to Burhan Pur and the surrounding country, including Khandes, Udaipur, Berar, Ahmad Nagar, with the addition of the whole of Gujarat from Burhan Pur to Surat and from Surat to Ahmadabad. The governors of all the towns in these Provinces had been appointed by him and not by the King. So that he may proceed with all the greater confidence he was advised by a certain Raja Bikramajit to do away with his brother Sultan Khusru,⁶⁸ who was loved by his father—which Shah Jahan did, as has been related before. Bikramajit was a heathen of low origin, but had many Rajputs under him. Shah Jahan highly esteemed him on account of his skill in foretelling the future and had made him one of his most trusted Umra.

Not much remained to be done now, as he thought. In five or six years he had amassed much wealth in Gujrat and Burhan Pur, his father was far away in Lahore and he was in correspondence with all the dignitaries of his father such as Asaf Khan, Abdulla Khan, Raja Bir Singh, Lashkar Khan, Khan-i-Khanan and his son, and many others. They urged him to make haste and not to fail to capture the valuable prize which his father-in-law Asaf Khan had promised to deliver into his hands. For this purpose he hurriedly summoned his Umra from all places, Raja Bikramajit (who was governor of Gujarat) from Ahmadabad, and the governors of Baroda, Cambay and Broach,⁶⁹ who hoping for the success of the Prince, arrived in Burhan Pur by a rapid journey. On the pretext that he was going to hunt in the neighbourhood of Mandu,⁷⁰ he rapidly marched from Burhan Pur in the year 1031 with an exceedingly well equipped army of 70,000 horse. The whole army marched 20 to 30 coss daily, and it was not before he had arrived near Ajmer that Itbar Khan, the governor of Agra, received the news that the Prince had left Burhan Pur. On the 15th day after leaving Burhan Pur, he arrived in Sikri

or Phettapur with his army (which included Khan-i-Khanan, Mirza Darab, Raja Bikramajit, Rustam Khan, Shah Quli, Muhammad Taki, Sayyid Khan and other Umra of his own and of the King). Itibar Khan who was bringing out the royal treasure, took it back into the fort and Asaf Khan went away empty-handed. Itbar Khan informed the King about the arrival of Shah Jahan with such a large force by relays of runners, and the King set out without delay from Lahore towards Agra.

In the meantime Shah Jahan sent Raja Bikramajit who was his commander-in chief and Bairam Beg, Rustam Khan, Shah Quli, Darab Khan, Pathan, Wazir Khan and Muhammad Taqi with an army from Fathpur to Agra. Ithabar Khan an old and famous noble of Jahangir, fortified the castle (of Agra) and put it into a state of defence, mounting all the guns in the arsenal on the ramparts, and walling up all the gates.

On this day Bairam Beg entered the town with a few thousand horse and proceeded towards that part of the castle which faces the river. Before taking up his quarters in the house of Mirza Abdulla, the son of Khan Azam, he advanced through Ghezerie Darwaza to make an attempt upon the castle. Raja Patra Das sallied out with some soldiers of Itibar Khan and fought for a long time against Bairam Beg. Some soldiers and also an elephant were wounded, but Bairam Beg was driven back. He fled before Radia Baderoye and went to the house of Mirza Abdulla's son, mentioned before. Then Raja Bikramajit also came into the town and stopped for two days in the house of Asaf Khan. He ordered Rustam Khan and Darab Khan to plunder the houses of Nurudin Quli and Laskar Khan and other Umra of the King who were in the castle, and to dig out any treasure which they might find buried there. 16 lack ropia were found in the house of Lashkar Khan and 10 lack in that of Nuruddin Quli. They took 3 lack ropia from the heathen Fattu Shah and another 2 to 3 lacks from Tahar Khan, and about a hundred thousand or a lack ropia was taken from the house of Asaf Khan.⁷¹ In brief, 50-60 lack ropia was plundered from the houses of a few nobles. After that Raja Bikramajit, Bairam Beg, Darya Khan and other umra returned with their army to the Prince at Fathepur. But before leaving Agra, Darya Khan opened

the Kotwal's prison and let out all the criminals. However, he did not in the slightest degree molest the inhabitants or merchants.

Shah Jahan, finding that there was no hope of getting the promised treasure, and that it was impossible to capture the castle in a short time, resolved to offer battle to his father. He inspected his army and distributed a considerable amount of money among the soldiers. Not only were the mounts with which any one was dissatisfied changed, but every one was given what he wanted; swords, bows, arrows, armour, guns, dress or riding coats. This greatly raised the spirit of the army, for every common soldier now looked like a noble. After having encamped for 25 days in Fathepur, Shah Jahan marched towards his father. The King had left Lahore with a small force. But he had sent farmans or letters to Mahabat Khan at Kabul and Khan Jahan at Multan, calling upon them to come quickly to his assistance in that hour of need. Sultan Purwez, who was in Patana, hurriedly set out towards Agra to help his father, not knowing that Shah Jahan had already passed Agra and was marching against him. On the 5th day Shah Jahan arrived in Faridabad, 10 coss on this (south) side of Delhi with his army of 70,000 horse. The King advanced from Delhi and encamped 3 coss from the town, so that there was a distance of only 6 or 7 coss between his army and that of his son. Next day Shah Jahan sent⁷² Raja Bikramajit, Darab Khan, Darya Khan and several other umra with their troops to offer battle to the King. Raja Bikramajit boasted that he would not return unless he captured his (Shah Jahan's) father (bound with) the string of his bow to the Prince's feet. The King divided the following and other umra into three troops to oppose the enemy; Abdulla Khan, Mahabat Khan, Asaf Khan, Khwaja Abdul Hasan, Sadiq Khan, Mirza Muhammad Husan and Sher Khan, Itimad Khan, and the sons of Khan Dauran Zabardast Khan and Raja Bir Singh. Many of the King's umra were against the King and favoured the cause of the Prince, and had bound themselves by promises to seize the King himself and to hand him over to Shah Jahan. Finally the battle began with a skirmish. Raja Bikramajit was the Commander-in-chief of the Prince's forces, while that of the King were led by Prince Shahr Yar, his youngest son and Mahabat Khan. The latter had promised not to desert the

King till his last breath and to serve as his (King's) shield and breast-work, through which the enemy would have to shoot first. As the battle began, a great clamour arose in the army. The King sent one of his best swords, a bow and arrow with one of his own turbants by the hand of Zabardast Khan to Abdulla Khan, calling upon him not to give way but show that day what the King had always expected from a man of his courage, rout the cursed wretch and win eternal fame. More such words were to be conveyed to him in order to encourage him. But the reverse happened. For Abdulla Khan was one of those who had taken the oath against the King and, as arranged, he left the ranks with 500 horse. It was thought that he was going to make a rash charge and fall upon the enemy so as to earn more fame for courage than the others. That was also what Zabardast Khan thought, who was running after him with the King's presents, followed by a small number of men. But when Abdulla Khan reached the enemy, there was no shooting or fighting to be seen; he had deserted and every one was embracing him. Zabardast Khan would have only too gladly run back, but was surrounded and killed. The traitor had left all his splendid elephants, horses, tents, and everything, and had proved false in the hope of getting more. It is also certain that Khwaja Abdul Hasan and Asaf Khan deceived many other umra. They had promised to support their advance, but did not make a move. They saw that many umra (of the Prince), *e. g.*, Mirza Hassan, brother of Khwaja Jahan, were fighting hard and bravely in order to reach the King, and Raja Bikramajit had almost broken through the King's troops and reached the King's tents in order to seize his person, when through God's inscrutable Providence, and King Jahangir's good fortune, a musket ball, fired unexpectedly from behind, hit Raja Bikramajit in the throat. He was mounted on an elephant and immediately fell down in the ambari. Finding their Commander-in-chief dead, Darab Khan, Darya Khan, Rustam Khan, Sayyid Khan and all other ommerauw left the field of battle with their army, retreated 2-3 coss and encamped there. The King was thus victorious.

When Shah Jahan received this news, he went to the others with the forces left with him, and called them together. There was

a distance of 10 coss between the army of the King and that of the Prince.

Sher Khan and Khwaja Itimad Khan had been severely wounded in the battle and left in the field. They were carried to Shah Jahan living.

Khan-i-Khanan advised the Prince that he should not fight against the King any more, but retire to the mountains of Mewat and get reconciled with the King, as there was no doubt that he would restore to him his former Provinces Deccan, Khandes, Berar and Gujarat. Shah Jahan allowed himself to be persuaded and immediately led his forces to the Kothel of Mewat, and quietly remained there. In the meantime Prince Purwez, coming from Patana, met the King at Balhol. From there the King sent all Begums to Agra. He also wrote to Shah Jahan that if he had given up his traitrous inclinations, he should go to Ajmer and remain there. He himself intended to go there and to make him swear that he would not any more think of rebellion, and then to provide him with an income sufficient for his wants. On receiving this letter, Shah Jahan set out for Ajmer, by way of Baswa, with Khan-i-Khanan, Darab Khan, Abdulla Khan, Bairam Beg, Darya Khan, Rustom Khan, Muhammad Taki, and all other omerauw. The King arrived in Fateh Pur and commanded that the gates of the castle of Agra should be opened by Itibar Khan, who then went to Fateh Pur to see the King. The King was very kind to Itibar Khan and presented to him elephants, horses, and dresses of honour. Raja Patra Das was granted a large income for the courage shown by him in Agra.

Shah Jahan passed through Amber and Lalsot, and plundering them and other villages, reached Ajmer.

When Raja Bikramajit, who was the governor of the whole of Gujarat, had left Ahmadabad to go to Prince Shah Jahan, he had left in his place his brother, Raja Kanar Das. After the death of Raja Bikramajit, who fell in battle, Prince Shah Jahan appointed Abdulla Khan governor of the Province. The latter as he was still with the Prince, sent his eunuch named Wafadar Khan there to be in charge until he should arrive. Arriving in Ahmadabad, Wafadar Khan drove out Nawab Safi Khan, who had long been diwan there on behalf of the

King. The latter encamped near the Talaw (tank) of Kankerya, and from there wrote to Nahar Khan, the governor of Pattan, and to Babu Khan in Kapperbeniz, how he had been disgracefully turned out of the town. He also described the position of the eunuch Wafadar Khan ; that he had come with 500 cavalry, but was daily recruiting more troops. They said in reply that they were surprised that he had vacated and left the town on account of such a small force, particularly when he knew that the King had sent Sultan Bulaqi with his grandfather Khan Azam to win Gujarat for the King and to govern it ; but since it was done, he should come to Kapperbanniz where they would gather and hold counsel as to how to capture or destroy the eunuch Wafadar Khan. Thereupon Safi Khan left Kapekritalun, and according to promise, he was joined by Nahar Khan and Babu Khan with their forces. After holding a consultation they mounted their horses in the evening and after riding throughout the night, arrived under the walls of Ahmadabad before day break. Then each of the three umra broke open one of the gates with his elephants and entered the town. They took prisoner Wafadar Khan, Muhammad Taki, Mir Madir, and Muhammad Hasan, governor of Cambay, and also the women of Salih Beg and Muhtsib Khan, who had deserted and accompanied Raja Bikramajit to the Prince. Thus, happily, the town again came into the King's possession. When Shah Jahan learnt this in Mandou, he was much annoyed and still more grieved and asked Abdulla Khan as to who had done it. Abdulla Khan replied that Safi Khan, Nahar Khan and Babu Khan were the traitors. Thereupon Shah Jahan asked if there was any one among them bold enough to capture Ahmadabad and to bring these three men to him, living or dead. Abdulla Khan said, " If your Majesty gives me leave I will defeat them and restore Ahmadabad to your authority. They are mere traders. How can they make a stand against my brave soldiers ? " The Prince believed these rash words and decided to send him there with the following nobles : Himmat Khan, governor of Broach, Salih Beg, Rustam Bahadur, Muhammad Sharza Khan, Maksud Beg, and Musahib Khan, (his grandson Sir Faraz Khan) son of Khaja Ahmad Sultan. They had not more than 7000 horse with them. Shah Jahan gave to Abdulla Khan 1,400,000 ropia in cash for payment of troops or expenses. Leaving Mandu without delay,

and without taking their women or any other encumbrance of that nature with them, they reached Baroda which was 140 coss distant in five days. From there they marched to Wasset, where Raja Ramdev gave a dinner to Abdula Khan and all other nobles and accompanied them himself to Ahmadabad to assist them.

Such a rapid and sudden arrival of Abdulla Khan had not been expected by Safi Khan and when they read the news, they could scarcely believe it. They grew anxious and consulted among themselves as to what was to be done, since Sultan Bulaqi and Khan. Azam were still far from the sea shore and had reached only as far as Tzeroy, and they had no money for hiring soldiers for fighting Abdulla Khan. They resolved therefore to break the tacht or the royal throne that had been made by Shah Jahan's order in Ahmadabad and to sell its gold and jewels. They did so and employed a large number of soldiers and summoned from the neighbouring town and villages all the troops that could be spared, so that within 9 days they brought together 19,000 horse, 500 musketeers and 28 elephants. Among the 22 chief umeras of the King (there) were the following : Safi Khan, Nahar Khan, Babu Khan, Delair Khan, Sayyid Khan, Sayyid Yukub, Raja Kalian, Kamal Khan, Firoz Khan, Sayyid Alam, Mirza Muqim, Mirza Qasim, Raja Daulat, Mirza Hait Khan, Mirza Taj Din, Gokal Das Bakhshi, and Mirza Qasim. All of them encamped near Kharki, outside the town, with the army mentioned above. From there they marched to Issenpoer, where the whole army was inspected. On this day definite news was received that Abdulla Khan was approaching. Nahar Khan offered to go ahead with his army and engaged the enemy in a skirmish, but it was decided that the whole army should march that very day and they reached Buben Talauw, 6 coss from Ahmadabad. Abdulla Khan was informed in Aramogen that Safi Khan was advancing with his army. He made light of it and was so reckless as to count the enemy as less than nothing. He enquired about the number of the enemy and when he was told, "19-20,000 horse," laughed derisively and said, "What can shopkeepers or traders do?" "A single soldier of my army can fight ten of theirs." He then immediately mounted his horse and reached Nariad the same day. After resting a little there he advanced to Mahammadabad, and the distance between the two armies was now

only 6 coss. Abdulla Khan summoned all his umeras that evening, and telling them that very little distance now separated them from the enemy, asked for suggestion. Thereupon Muhtsib Khan instantly said, "We must march upon the enemy and attack him." Abdulla Khan bade him be silent. "Your bold suggestion, 'he said,' would have heartened me if I had not discovered your treason this very day," and he brought out a letter written by Muhtsib Khan, intercepted on the way by his guards, in which he had written to Safi Khan that the latter could depend upon him, and that as soon as the battle began, he would go over to them. Abdulla Khan had Muhtsib Khan and also the son of Khwaja Sultan loaded with fetters. They were then placed on an elephant and all the property of the two umeras was confiscated.

Abdulla Khan set out in the morning with his army and reached Kanisa. He knew that Safi Khan was very strong, that there were some in his army whom he suspected of unfaithfulness. Therefore he took the road to Baroda, in order to encircle Safi Khan from the rear. When the latter learnt of this, he also moved out and wrote to Abdulla Khan, "We have observed that you are advancing towards Fateh Bagh, to offer battle there. We are content and shall be there next morning." The letter was delivered to Abdulla Khan who gave it to Ahmad Khan to read and said, "What they write is out of pride, since, they are stronger in numbers than we are." Nevertheless he wrote to Safi Khan in reply saying that he would expect him and that he hoped to have him as prisoner in his power before the sun went down. The whole day and night passed thus but early next morning Abdulla Khan drew up his army into three parts. Ahmad Khan and Salih Beg commanded the right wing; Sharza Khan, Maqsud Beg and Muhammad Quli commanded the left wing, while he himself with several umeras occupied the centre. He left Barozia in this formation and reached Zietelpoer which was only one coss from the royal army. His idea was to march towards Fateh Bagh, but Safi Khan's troops, which had appeared before him had closed the road, and he was compelled to stop. Nahar Khan, his five sons named Tasir Khan, Tasawar Khan, Delair Khan, Dayar Khan, Shamsheer Khan, and two sons-in-law, Karamat Khan and Shams Khan now attacked Abdulla Khan with their 3000 horse. The latter replied with a heavy fire, but the region

where he was operating was full of trees and most of the shots were wasted on them. Safi Khan had occupied a very advantageous position and made a heavy attack with the artillery. A shot hit one of the largest war-elephants (of Abdulla Khan) who was in front, in the forehead. The elephant turned and rushed into his own troops, who had to break their formation to let it pass. Abdulla Khan seeing that his men were giving way, encouraged them and exclaimed: "Let those who love their Prince follow me," and giving his horse rein, pushed forward enquiring where Nahar Khan was and challenging him to a single combat. The latter, as soon as he saw Abdulla Khan he galloped up to him. Abdulla Khan's lance struck him in the face, and the force of the blow caused the helmet to fall from the head, leaving Nahar Khan unprotected. One of the Zalepoles, who was close to Nahar Khan, picked up the helmet and gave it to his master. The sons of Nahar Khan finding that their father had been wounded, ran to his assistance, Abdulla Khan was forced to retire, but one of the sons-in-law (of Nahar Khan) was killed and three of his sons were severely wounded. The battle continued to rage fiercely. As Nahar Khan turned in order to retire, Dilair Khan asked him if that was the time to run away, and for shame he again faced the enemy. Sayyid Khan and Sayyid Yakub fought bravely against Salih Beg, who had advanced with 1000 horse, but all of them fled disgracefully and Salih Beg was left only with 5 followers. They saw an elephant of Sayyid Khan, which they would have been glad to take possession of, as their horses had been wounded, but the elephant, at a sign from the driver who was mounted on it, offered resistance. Then Salih attacked the elephant with a lance from a side and severely wounded it on the forehead, but the elephant struck him from his horse and he was left standing as his horse ran away. On whichever side they attacked, these five persons, by their undaunted courage, compelled the enemy to give way. Finally Salih Beg was wounded with a sword and had to retire, upon which Sayyid Khan ran up and finished him.

Ahmad Khan whose troops were fighting in the rear of Salih Beg, hearing this, rushed upon Raja Hallam (Kalian) and Abdul Rahman. But he was shot from a gun mounted in the armoured howdah of an elephant, and fell from his horse. His head and that of Salih Beg were cut off and taken to Safi Khan. The death of these two brave

men dis-spirited the whole army. Every one turned his back and fled to save himself, the one here and the other there, with the exception of Sharza Khan, governor of Baroda who had remained uninjured with his 400 horse and 3 elephants, as he formed the rear-guard. When he saw that Safi Khan was advancing to attack him he parleyed with him and surrendered. His son, Muhammad Quli Khan, seeing that partly on account of cowardice and partly in the hope of a deserter's reward, his father, relying on a promise, had surrendered, rode with 40 horse and an elephant that followed him straight to the troops of Abdulla Khan. Seeing him coming alone, the latter inquired where his father was, and was told that he had gone over to Safi Khan. Abdulla Khan was beside himself with rage. "My instinct has deceived me," he exclaimed. "since most of them have turned their backs upon me as traitors." At this time the news of the death of Ahmad Khan and Salih Beg was brought to Abdulla Khan. This greatly depressed him. He was visibly overcome with fear, and turned his horse to fly.

I have related above how Abdulla Khan had ordered two umra named Muhtasib Khan (and the son of Khwaja Sultan) to be loaded with chains and mounted on elephants, as he suspected them of treason. One was killed by the driver as ordered and thrown on the ground. But the great Muntisib Khan escaped death, as (his) driver had no sword and only wounded him with the hook by which the elephant is driven so that some of his teeth were knocked out, and threw him from the elephant. In the meantime Safi Khan's soldiers had come up, and they saved him.

Abdulla Khan had fled reluctantly and wanted to return, saying that he would not be able to appear, on account of shame, before his master, Sultan Khurram. But his followers dragged him away. They urged that he must save himself for not more than 100 horse were left. The rest had fled like terrified sheep, the one here and the other there and most of them were slaughtered by peasants. On account of continuous and indescribably heavy rain, Abdulla Khan took three days to reach Baroch from Ahmadabad, which was 8 coss distant. He had nothing with him, excepting two elephants, not even a change of clothing, so that he sat for half

a-day in Baroach in his wet clothes, until something could be made for him. The next day he left for Surat, where he stopped for 7 or 8 days. He equipped himself anew (for war) and treated every one with great severity. He then set off without delay for Burhan, Pur, entrusting Hakim Abdullah with the government of the town. Mirza Salih Beg, who had for several years been the governor of the castle, took charge of it on behalf of Khurram. Four months after Abdulla Khan's departure Sultan Bulaqi and Khan Azam arrived in Surat, with 29,000 horse, from Ahmadabad, and appointed their own men to govern all places, including Baroda and Broach, which had been abandoned out of fear by the governor Mirza Muhammad Tahir. They laid siege to the castle and it was surrendered to them in 8 days on the promise that they would spare the lives and property (of the defenders). But shortly afterwards, Hakim Abdulla, Mirza Quli Beg and the Fojdar Isa Beg were sent to the King at Lahore, and not withstanding the promise of Bulaqi, the governor, Abdulla and the Fojdar were ordered to be trampled to death by elephants. On the recommendation of the Queen and Asaf Khan, Quli Beg was set at liberty⁷³.

The King sent his son, Sultan Purwez, Mahabat Khan and Lala Bert Singh (Raja Guj Singh) from Fateh Pur, with all the army of Rajputs, in pursuit of Shah Jahan. He was, if possible, to be captured alive; otherwise they were given full permission to kill him. Prince Purwez, therefore, obtaining leave of the King, started with a very large army, in pursuit of his brother. The son of Abdulla Khan, named Mirza Khan, who had not gone away with his father, was loaded with chains and placed in the custody of Itibar Khan, and thus met his end. The King then repaired from Fateh Pur to Ajmer. Abdul Aziz Khan, who had been separated from the royal forces by Abdulla Khan's trick when the latter went over to the enemy, and who had fallen into the hands of Shah Jahan, now finding time and opportunity, made good his escape and returned to the King, who received him kindly.

When Sultan Khurram learnt that his brother Purwez, Mahabat Khan and Lala Bert Singh, followed by a large army, were in his pursuit, he left Ajmer and returned to Mandu. Here he

again raised an army, prepared for war and distributed money among his troops. There was a distance of not more than 5 or 6 coss between the two armies, and a skirmish began near Mandu. When it developed into a general battle. Rustam Khan, Saif Ali, Barqandaz Khan, left Shah Jahan with their erces and went over to prince Purwez. Shah Jahan had also to take to flight, and the king was victorious. Fighting and fleeing Shah Jahan crossed the river Nerbada and reached Burhan Pur, leaving Bairam Beg and Darab Khan with sufficient troops on the bank of the river to prevent Sultan Purwez from crossing it; he had also all the boats on the river sunk. The royal army reached the river, but could not cross it, partly on account of the lack of boats and partly on account of the troops left by Khurram on the other bank of the river. Purwez and Mahabat Khan encamped on the river, without being able to do anything more. Khan-i-Khanan now suggested to Shah Jahan that he might be sent to Purwez as he was certain of being able to arrange peace between the two. He said that he would return to Mandu, while he advised Shah Jahan to remain in Burhan Pur. Shah Jahan thought that Khan-i-Khanan was speaking the truth, or what he sincerely believed. But Abdulla Khan warned the Prince and said repeatedly, "Khan-i-Khanan wishes to go to Purwez to betray you. He will be the cause of your ruin, and he will never retnr, for his on Darab Khan wishes to accompany him. Take care. I have warned you." Shah Jahan disbelieved Abdulla Khan, and after taking an oath from Khan-i-Khanan, that he would come back, permitted him to go. The guards were at the bank of the Nerbada, and they let him pass. On meeting Purwez Khan-i-Khanan said "Why are you sitting idle? Shah Jahan has no army, and you should attack him. Many of his followers have deserted him. Have trees cut down to make boats for crossing the river, and God willing, I shall deliver Shah Jahan alive into your hands." Sultan Purwez pointed out that the guards of Udai Ram and Jadu Rai could inflict much damage on his army in crossing. Khan-i-Khanan replied; "They will obey me. I shall send them a token, and they will let your army cross over in safety." Khan-i-Khanan then wrote to Bairam Beg that if he should see his way to desert Shah Jahan, he would guarantee that he would be appointed commander of 5,000 by the King. Some boats were got ready and 10,000

cavalry of Sultan Purwez crossed the river. By a secret understanding with Khan-i-Khanan, Bairam Beg went to the Prince Shah Jahan and said that Khan-i-Khanan who [had been sent to Sultan Purwez, after promising and swearing loyalty on a holy book, had succeeded in his mission and that he had arranged peace and was now returning ; it was therefore not desirable that His Majesty should leave that place, but await Khan-i-Khanan's arrival. Just then Abdulla Khan came to the Prince running and exclaimed : " Why are you idly sitting here ? You should not believe Bairam Beg for he is one with Khan-i-Khanan. My scouts have just now brought certain news that 10,000 horse of Sultan Purwez crossed the river (last night) with the consent of Bairam Bag's guards and are coming in this direction, and 10,000 more have crossed over today. Their object is to seize you alive. And all this has been done by Khan-i-Khanan, and Darab Khan and Bairam Beg or his accomplices.. " Therefore seize these two, put them on an elephant and let us at once start for Ballaghat. " Acting on this advice Shah Jahan, the two ommeruw were bound and placed on an elephant and they fled from Burhan Pur to Rehenkier, and from there rapidly proceeded to Kharki. Sultan Purwez then crossed the river and came to Burhanpur, where he heard that Shah Jahan had fled beyond Rehenker to Malik Ambar. When the prince arrived at Kharki, Ambar placed the palace of Nasser Thoom at his disposal for residence, welcomed him with great feasts and sent all his elephants to the fortress of Daultabad (as they had become lean) in order to revive and fatten them. Further he showed great honor to the Prince and promised to give him help.

The King rejoiced to hear of the victory that the Prince had won over Shah Jahan at Mandu and the latter's flight.

After this reliable news was brought to the King that Ilangtosh Uzbeg was making active preparations to capture Kabul. He had 30,000 horse and was already marching in order to besiege that town. The son of Mahabat Khan, named Khana Zad Khan, was the governor of the province of Bangash. As soon as he received this news he set off with his forces towards Kabul, fortified the town, and put it into a state of defence. When Ilangtosh was 40 coss from Kabul, Khanazabad Khan led out 20,000 (cavalry) to offer battle to

Ilangtosh. The two armies met and the battle began. At first the Uzbegs pressed the royal troops hard. But Khanazad Khan punished them with his artillery and then drove a mad war-elephant among them which caused a great havoc in the enemy's troops. They lost 3-4,000 men, the nephew of Ilangtosh being among the slain. At length they fled like sheep. Khanazad Khan pursued the flying traitor for 40 cross up to Glazni, the extreme limit of Uzbeg's territory. The King again won a victory through his great and constant good fortune, and Khanazad Khan returned to Kabul bringing with him booty many horses and much baggage of the Uzbegs, together with 3-3,000 prisoners. After these occurrences Khanazad Khan wrote to the King about them. The King held many celebrations to mark his joy, and increased the salary of Khanazad Khan to 5000 horse and sent him as presents an elephant, horses and dresses of honour.

The King at this time again went to Kashmir to hunt. Khurram thinking that the King was far away, determined to try his luck once more. His idea was to march to the frontiers of Golconda, and from there to the province of Orissa, with the object of invading Dacca or Bengal from the south and to establish himself there.⁷⁴ He therefore set out with 3-4000 horses and 3000 elephants and following the intended route, reached the province of Orissa after crossing the wildernesses of Lohestan. Here Muhammad (Ahmad) Beg Khan, a cousin⁷⁵ of Ibrahim Khan, was governor. On learning that the prince had arrived, he was struck with terror and leaving everything took to flight. His treasure fell into the hands of Shah Jahan and many mansabdars of the King came to the prince and entered his service. Sultan Khurram then rapidly marched from Orissa to Patna, and brought under his authority all the King's territory through which he passed.⁷⁶ Mukhlis Khan, the governor of Patna, surrendered the town without offering any resistance, and fled to Rustam Kandahari.⁷⁷ Rustam threw him into prison for his disgraceful flight and confiscated all that he had. Sultan Khurram crossed the Ganges and arrived at Kheri, on his way back to Bengal. When this came to the knowledge of Ibrahim Khan who was in Dacca, he immediately prepared for war with Shah Jahan.⁷⁸ He had 5-6000 horse and many boats well provided with men and ammunition. Ibrahim Khan met Sultan Khurram at Rajmahal, and the battle began. Khurram,

who was under heavy fire both from the land as well as the river, was compelled to retire. But Abdulla Khan, who was lying in ambush with his troops, now made a sudden attack and the royal forces gave way. In the first place they could have formed little idea of help (to the enemy) coming so unexpectedly, and in the second place, Ibrahim Khan was greedy and his soldiers and mansabdars disliked him, as their pay was in arrears. Thus when the battle was at its hottest, they deserted Ibrahim Khan, and each went his own way. Ibrahim Khan was left with 4000 horse; Abdulla Khan fell on them with his Mughals and cut Ibrahim Khan and others to pieces. All the elephants and property of Ibrahim Khan and other mansabdars excepting that left in Dacca fell into the hands of Sultan Khurram⁷⁹. Therefore Shah Jahan commanded Darab Khan to advance upon Dacca and bring Himmat Beg Khan, the women of Ibrahim Khan, and all the treasure and goods that remained there, and subdue the whole of the province of Bengal. Darab Khan set out for Dacca and the prince returned victorious to Patna, where Raja Ujjainya⁷⁹ came with 5000 horse and 20,000 infantry to welcome the Prince and offer his services.

When these occurrences and the news of Sultan Khurram's victory came to the knowledge of Prince Purwez and Mahabat Khan they left Burhan Pur and set off for Allahabad with Khan Alam and the whole of the Rajput army. Rai Ratan Singh, Lashkar Khan, and Mirza Manochahr, nephew of Khan-i-Khanan) and Ibrahim Khan, who was diwan there, were left in Burhan Pur under the command of Rai Ratan Singh. By daily marches Sultan Purwez arrived in the territory of Raja Bir Singh, where this Raja presented 2-3 Lac ropia to the Prince and Mahabat Khan, and accompanied Sultan Purwez with the whole of his army to render assistance.

The King heard about the death of Ibrahim Khan in Kashmir. He wrote to Khan Jahan, who was still in Multan, to prepare, as soon as he saw the letter, to march to the assistance of Sultan Purwez. The income of Gujarat was also granted to him. Khan Jahan proceeded to Fathepur, spent 6 months there, and did not go to assist (Purwez). In the meantime Rustom Kandhari had fortified the castle of Allahabad and walled up the gates. Sultan Khurram led his troops to the fortress of Rohtas, where Sayyid Mubarak was governor. He came, offered his services, and surrendered the castle to Sultan Khurram.⁸⁰

Powerful forces of Khurram now advanced against the fortress of Chunar, which was commanded by Hafiz Baqi, on behalf of Purwez and violently attacked it compelling Hafiz Baqi to surrender it. In the meantime Wazir Khan proceeded to Benares where he extorted tribute from the subjects of Shah Jahan. Abdulla Khan, marching to Jaunpore extorted a large sum of money from the merchants and heathens. Its governor, Jahangir Quli Khan, had already fled to Rustom Kandahari at Allahabad.

Shah Jahan now learnt that Prince Purwez and Mahabat Khan were advancing and that they had crossed the river of Kalpy. He despatched Raja Bhim, Bairam Beg, and Abdulla Khan to Allahabad to besiege and surround the fort of Allahabad before they should arrive. Abdulla Khan did so and plundered and destroyed the suburbs and extorted tribute from the inhabitants. Rustom Khan enraged at this, sallied out one day and for a long time fought against Shah Jahan's troops but was compelled to withdraw into the fort again. He defended the fort bravely. Abdulla Khan, leaving Allahabad arrived close to Backhara (Kara), where at Porharum (Pur Hamir) near Kalpi in the middle of that tract he (Rustam) had left his women for the sake of safety.

Abulla Khan carried them away.

At this time discord and misunderstanding arose between Abdulla Khan and Raja Bhim. In the meantime the troops of Sultan Purwez had already reached Backhara (Kara) Munickpore. Therefore Raja Bhim and Abdulla Khan crossed the Ganges and returned to Benares.

Mahabat Khan imprisoned Khan-i-Khanan on a certain charge and had him guarded. Khan-i-Khanan had a slave named Mian Fahim who was most esteemed by him and upon whom he had bestowed much wealth and position. He was enraged at seeing his master a prisoner and one day, when they were passing through the region between Kalpi and Raja Bir Singh's Province, he rode up to the tent of Khan-i-Khanan with 300 horse with the intention of setting Khan-i-Khanan at liberty and carrying him away. The Zaytaden, who were guarding Khan-i-Khanan, offered resistance and fought for a long time against Fahim. Many of the Zayjaden (Sayyidin) were killed, but Fahim, his son and brother-in-law also lost their lives. Mahabat

Khan seized all the property of Khan-i-Khanan and Fahim and sent all his (Khan-i-Khanan's) women and goods to Agra. Khan-i-Khanan was loaded with fetters and carried with Mahabāt Khan. His daughter named Jana Khanum and two young sons remained with their father, and were also kept in custody.

At length Sultan Parwez and Mahabat Khan reached Allahabad with all the royal forces. Rustam Kandahari opened the gates of the castle and went to see the Prince.

Mahabat Khan, Raja Jai Singh, Raja Chandra, Raja Bir Singh and all the Sayyids, crossed the Ganges. Sultan Khurram who was in Patana had made thorough preparations for war. He had, with many boats, reached a small stream called Tons, near Tzatse Ranou. This stream branches off the Ganges, about 10 coss from Benares. The two armies faced each other, the royal forces on one side of the stream and Shah Jahan's on the other side. They could not reach or inflict damage on each other except by their guns. Bairam Beg turned to the right of the Ganges and advanced towards Allahabad with 3-4000 horse. He reached here Muhammad Zaman Karori, a tenant of Sultan Parwez, mounted on an elephant and followed by 500 horse was ready for him. Karori crossed the river and bravely attacked Bairam Beg. Bairam Beg fell in the battle, His head was cut off and sent to Mirza Rustom at Allahabad. Most of the soldiers of Bairam Beg were put to the sword. Sultan Parwez and Mahabat Khan rejoiced to hear about the victory and held celebrations its honour.

The two armies still lay on either side of the river Tons. No part of the royal forces had yet been able to cross the river and Sultan Khurram inflicted much damage on the royal army with the fire of his heavy guns mounted on bulwarks and redoubts, every day killing many elephants, horses and men. At length a villager came to Prince Purwez and said that he knew a place where his army would be able to cross the river. He spoke the truth and brought over the army to a plain suitable for offering battle. The two armies were now very close to each other, and each was seeking an advantageous position for the battle. Finally they met⁸¹ and Raja Bhim, true to a soldier's duty (he was known to every one for his courage) pushed forward with his men. He had a bold war elephant, and with it he fell upon

the army of Sultan Purwez and forced it to give way. But Abdulla Khan and Darya Khan, who should have followed him, failed to do so. Bhim had therefore to bear the burnt of the battle. Raja Jai Singh and Raja Chanda and the , seeing that no troops were coming up behind the war elephants, directed all their fire upon the elephants, so that each one of them received a thousand shots from guns and arrows. This was followed by heavy fire from Khurram's side, which killed many of the royal soldiers and made them lose heart. Sultan Purwez thereupon mounted an elephant and drove it into the thickest of the fight. He showed himself undaunted and performed deeds of valour, thus exposing himself to danger. His troops, seeing this, were inspired with fresh courage and pressed Sultan Khurram's troops so hard that they gave way. When Darya Khan found that Raja Bhim had fallen, he left the ranks and fled. Seeing Darya Khan fly, Sultan Khurram exhorted the Umra to make a stand and himself pushed forward. But it was of no use, and he had almost been overpowered and captured when Abdulla Khan came and forcibly dragged him away. Khurram was accompanied by only 3-4000 horse who had kept themselves together. The army of Raja Bir Singh now fell upon Khurram's tents and plundered the treasures and much jewellery that had been abandoned. All the goods, elephants, horses, and retinue of Khurram and his Umeras were seized by Mahabat Khan in the name of the King, with the exception of a large amount of gold, Ashrafis and jewels which, as I have said, fell into the hands of Raja Bir Singh together with 3000 horses and 4 elephants great as well as small. The remaining horses, elephants and other property were seized for the King.

Sultan Khurram reached the fortress of Rohtas in the 6th quarter of the day. Rohtas was commanded by Raza Ghulam, his slave, who had murdered Khusrav with the help of Sayyid Jafar. Leaving there his little property and seraglio, with the exception of the daughter of Asaf Khan, he left Rohtas on the third day and fled again. His men were fast deserting him, the one here and the other there as they were unable to follow him. For the same reason he had to leave on the way many elephants and horses.⁸² Shortly afterwards Sultan Purwez and Mahabat Khan started in pursuit but between the latter and Khurram, who was flying ahead there always

remained a distance of 40 to 50 coss. At length Khurram came to Patna, and from here he wrote to Darab Khan, whom he had appointed governor of Bengal, that he should leave Dacca without delay and meet him at Raj Mahal, since he was being pursued by Sultan Purwez and Mahabat Khan. At the same time his father Khan-i-Khan was writing to Mirza Darab every day, promising that in case he deserted Khurram and espoused the cause of Prince Purwez, he would be given by the King a much higher rank and position than he now enjoyed. Sultan Khurram waited in vain for a few days for Mirza Darab at Raj Mahal. Muhammad Taqi, indeed, came to the Prince, having left Darab Khan long before, but finding that the latter had failed to follow, but seemed to have gone over to the other side, left Raj Mahal and reached Midna Pur through Orissa, which was the route to be taken by the royal troops. Sultan Purwez and Mahabat Khan arrived at Midnapur where they learnt that Khurram had passed that place a few days before.⁸³ The Prince sent Bhokkar Khan with other Umra in pursuit and himself turned back to Raj Mahal. From here he issued Farmans and letters to all Rajas and inhabitants ordering them to seize and bring to him Darab Khan and his property. The inhabitants, seeing that Khurram had fled, surrounded Darab Khan, whereupon Khurram ordered the sons of Darab Khan, who were with him, to be put to death. Then Mahabat Khan sent a false Farman and a sarope or dress of honour to Darab Khan through Mir Jumla ordering the latter, when he should meet Darab Khan, to overpower him and cut off and send to him his head and those of his son and nephew, the son of Shah Nawaz Khan. Mir Jumla set off with the farman and saropa and came up with Darab Khan when he was taking his pleasure in a boat on the river in the company of his people. As soon as he saw Mir Jumla, he turned back, intending to land and to receive the farman. But Mir Jumla had a musket ready, and he shot him in the shoulder, so that Darab Khan fell down wounded. Mir Jumla ran up and cut off his head. He also cut off the head of the innocent son of Darab Khan, 5 or 6 years of age. The son of Shah Nawaz Khan who was ten years old, seeing this, threw himself into the river. But he was pulled out and his head was also cut off. Mir Jumla sent the three heads to the Prince and Mahabat Khan who despatched them to

(Darab Khan's) father, Khan-i-Khanan. The poor Khan-i-Khanan on seeing the heads of his son and nephew was overwhelmed with grief. But he was helpless. The three heads were put in a hamper and sent to the King. All the plundered property of Sultan Khurram, which had been in Darab Khan's possession, was entered in the King's register and was sent to him.

In the year 1033 (1624) the King summoned Khanazad Khan, the son of Mahabat Khan, who was governor of Kabul, and after bestowing great honours upon him and appointing him commander of 5000 horse, sent him to Bengal⁸⁴ as governor-general of the whole Province.

At this time Malik Ambar raised the standard of revolt and advancing with a large army, drove out the royal forces from all places. Lashkar Khan and Mirza Manochahr, cousins of Khan-i-Khanan were in Ballaghat and Ibrahim Hassan was diwan there. These and other umra prepared for war with about 15,000 horse. They fought against Malik Ambar, but by a trick the latter captured Lashkar Khan, Mirza Manochahr, and Mirza Ibrahim Hasan alive, with all their treasure, elephants, horses and the whole army, nothing excluded. Lashkar Khan and the other umra were imprisoned in Daulatabad. Mirza Manochahr was kept in honourable captivity, but Lashkar Khan and Mirza Hassan were loaded with fetters and locked up.

Sultan Khurram had fled to Orissa. But Naher Khan and the other nobles who had been sent in his pursuit, were so close at his heels that he could not rest anywhere. Therefore with 3000 horse and 300 elephants he again set off towards the frontiers of Golconda. King Qutb-ul-Mulk helped him with money and Malik Ambar again gave him shelter in his country. After thoroughly equipping himself for war during a stay of two or three months, he led his army to Burhan Pur, accompanied by Yakub Khan, who had been sent by Malik Ambar to his assistance with 10,000 bargie. Abdulla Khan, Darya Khan and Muhammad Yaqi besieged Burhan Pur. The town had been fortified by Rai Ratan Singh, who had been appointed its governor by Prince Purwez. He had built an earthen wall and redoubts all round the outer part of the town, for formerly it was an open place. The assaults made on the town

were always bravely repulsed. One day Rai Ratan Singh sallied out with his Rajputs to offer battle to Abdulla Khan. The furious onslaught of the Rajputs made Abdulla Khan give way, but just then Sultan Khurram and Yakub who was also in reserve, came to Abdulla Khan's assistance. Many of Rai Ratan Singh's men were killed, and he was compelled to withdraw into the town. Fighting went on daily outside the town as before. But the garrison were small in number as compared with Khurram's troops, and the ramparts were also not strong, and could be easily stormed. Finally Abdulla Khan and Darya Khan made a violent attack on the ramparts and would have effected an entry, but for the brave resistance of Rai Ratan Singh. During the night, however, Muhammad Taqi by a daring charge, broke into a part of the town with his troops and occupied the castle. Abdulla Khan and Darya Khan finding that Muhammad Taqi had already entered the town and occupied the castle, grew jealous and said: "Shall a trader's son come and win more glory than we old soldiers? That must not be." For this reason they kept still and did not go to his assistance as they should have done. Rai Ratan Singh and Asad Khan, finding that no further troops had followed to bring assistance, rushed out and set fire to the gates of the castle. Muhammad Taqi was driven out again. After a little fighting in the Ziorke or the great market, he was wounded in the eye and captured alive. Most of his men were slaughtered and some were taken prisoners.

At this time the King or Nur Jahan Begum, despatched Mirza Arab Dost Khan to bring Khan-i-Khanan, who was still with Mahabat Khan, to Lahore. This was much against Mahabat Khan's will, but Prince Parwez, in accordance with his father's command, allowed him to go. He was taken to Agra and from there to Lahore. He complained bitterly against Mahabat Khan for having put to death, without the order of the King or Prince Parwez, his son Mirza Darab and his nephew and beheaded them. He also complained that all his considerable property had been confiscated and charges were brought against him, (which no one had been able to prove), although, being an old slave of the King, he had, of his own accord, fled from Khurram and joined Prince

Parwez. He made a thousand other complaints, cause for which had been given by Mahabat Khan and others.

Sultan Parwez, Mahabat Khan, Khan Alam, Raja Bir Singh and the whole Rajput army that was in Patna, left that place and by rapid marches arrived in Burhan Pur. Khurram fled with his army to Ballaghat and became Malik Ambar's guest. But seeing that he had lost his chance, he withdrew his forces from the fort of Asir, which was situated at a distance of 5 coss from Burhan Pur, and which was still holding out in spite of a long siege and of the great privations suffered (by the garrison). He sent the keys of Asir and also of Rohtas to his brother. The Prince appointed Barqandaz Khan, governor of Asir.

Raja Bir Singh, who had accompanied the Prince (Parwez) from Patna, now took leave and returned to his territory. Khan Jahan repaired to Gujarat to govern that Province, whose income had been assigned to him by the King.

Mahabat Khan suspected that Khan-i-Khanan was trying to bring about his ruin, and a misunderstanding arose between Mahabat Khan and the followers of Sultan Parwez, which led the Prince, acting on bad advice, to ask the King to recall Mahabat Khan. The King did so at the instigation of Nur Jahan Begum, her brother Asaf Khan, Khan-i-Khanan and other chughtai enemies (of Mahabat Khan) at court. He was much vexed and thought that Mahabat Khan was plotting some evil in spite of his great and faithful service. He therefore sent Fidai Khan in all seriousness and great haste to fetch him. Khan Jahan, who was at that time in Ahmadabad, was ordered to join Prince Parwez in the place of Mahabat Khan. After various farmans had been received by him, Mahabat Khan was persuaded by Mirza Arab Dost Khan, who had come specially to fetch him, to leave Burhan Pur, and he arrived at his castle of Ranthambore, 70 coss from Agra. Shah Jahan then went to Prince Parwez at Ahmadabad, and in order to gain the King's favour, sent 100 of his best elephants to him, with two of his sons under the care of Khwaja Jahan. They set off from Burhan Pur, reached Agra and stopped there for some time.

Muzaffar Khan was sent from Lahore as Governor of Agra. He went there to relieve Qasim Khan, but Muniza Begum, the wife of

Qasim Khan, did not wish to leave the place, She theretore bestirred herself to secure that end, as will be related later on.

We have stated before that Khusrau had been placed in the charge of Sultan [Khurram, his younger brother. At that time the King also entrusted to Khurram's care his (King's) two nephews or the sons of his brother, Danyal Shah, who had died in Burhan Pur, named Shah Timur and Shah Husain. For certain reasons he had made over the boys, while very young to the Jesuits, to be baptised and taught Christianity. He did so not because he thought well of or was attached to that religion, but in order to turn away the affections of every one from them. He did not wish that they should enjoy the support of the great nobles—for their father's sake, who was much loved by every one. After they had been brought up for a few years in that faith, the King, changing his mind, took them away from the Jesuits, and they were united and received into our⁸⁵ religion. The boys had to follow Khurram in all his wars. At length when Khurram was defeated near Allahabad Sultan Timur made good his escape and fled to Prince Parwez at Benares, who received him with great honours and after seeing to his requirements, sent him to the King. The King gave him an affectionate reception and kept him at court constantly near his own person. Finally he was married at Lahore to the King's own daughter Baber Banu Begum. After that Shah Husain took advantage of Khurram's flight from Burhan Pur to escape and sought refuge with Rai Ratan Singh. The latter sent him to the King, together with Muhammad Taqi, an Amir of Khurram, who had been captured in the battle of Burhan Pur. Shah Husain was received by the King with all honours and taken into the royal service. But Muhammad Taqi was kept, as before, in custody. Thus the two sons of Danyal Shah, are now with the King and high in his favour.⁸⁶

Mahabat Khan had been for some time living in his castle of Ranthambore with his Rajput forces. He now received farmans or (royal) orders to proceed to Bengal and to hand over the fort to Baqir Khan. He could not put up with insults and he was not at all prepared to go to Bengal. He wrote to the King that since many people had brought false charges against him (his accusers had been and still were traitors to the King and the Kingdom), he was determined to appear before the King to answer them.

After Sultan Khurram's flight from Burhan Pur, Abdulla Khan left Khurram, partly on account of certain ill-feeling and partly because the Prince had very little with which to support Abdulla Khan or even himself. He repaired to Prince Perwez and Khan Jahan at Burhan Pur, after Khan Jahan had earnestly promised and sworn to get his offences pardoned by the King. He was given a lack of ropia for expenses, and the Prince supplied him with horses and other equipment, with which he daily attended at court.

In the year 1025⁸⁷ Mahabat Khan marched to Lahore with his 5000 Rajputs by the shorter route through Bassawar, with the intention of seeing the King, who was about to leave for Kabul. When Nur Jahan Begum and Asaf Khan learnt that he was approaching with all his Rajputs, they wrote to him enquiring as to why he was coming without the order of the King, and warned him that it might lead to evil consequences. In the meantime, the King had left Lahore and crossed the Chenab. One day Nur Jahan Begum and Asaf Khan urged the King to order that since Mahabat Khan was bringing with him his army and about 200 elephants in defiance of royal order, he should leave his army behind, bring his elephants with him, and appear before the King only with his attendants. The King agreed and issued the order. Mahabat Khan sent his son-in-law ahead with the elephants and with a letter addressed to the King, begging to know why he mistrusted his old slave. He added that if the King so wished he would send his women and children before him as a pledge, but begged that he should not be subjected to the disgrace of having to appear before the King as a criminal. As soon as Mahabat Khan's son-in-law came to the King, every one brought serious charges against him, and instigated by Asaf Khan, the King ordered him to be soundly beaten with shoes. He was then placed on elephant and taken through the whole army bare-headed, after which he was placed in the custody of Fidai Khan. The Wakil of Mahabat Khan was also soundly scourged with cojeras or whips. When Mahabat Khan reached Behed, he found the King encamped on the banks of the river.⁸⁸ The King sent Ghait Khan to Mahabat Khan, to take from him the elephants that still remained with him and to convey to him the message that he should appear before the King with 100 attendants and no more. The innocent Mahabat Khan agreed to it and expressed his desire to send

his women and children to Nur Jahan Begum as a pledge (so that the King might have no suspicions against him) if only his army was allowed to follow him, Asaf Khan was unwilling to accept these conditions. Hatred (between Mahabat Khan and the other) grew day by day and at length it burst out on account of the strong fire of envy. Nur Jahan Begum, Asaf Khan, Iradat Khan, Fidai Khan, Khwaja Abdul Hasan and the other chughtai nobles then resolved to attack Mahabat Khan's army and to kill him or to capture him alive, and to bring him to the King, as a criminal. They, therefore, took possession of the baggage that he had sent across the river before crossing it himself, in order to prevent him from crossing the river. One day, while the King was asleep, the whole of the royal forces crossed the river, the idea being to defeat or overpower Mahabat Khan. Asaf Khan, Khwaja Abdul Hasan, Iradat Khan, Fidai Khan and Nur Jahan Begum, herself attacked Mahabat Khan. Nur Jahan was mounted on an elephant; on account of her great bitterness she wanted to show her woman's courage to Mahabat Khan. The two armies met. The Rajputs, showing utter disregard for safety, fell upon the Oratzanen like mad, undaunted men and in a short time their enemy was flying before them like sand before the wind. Asaf Khan beat a disgraceful retreat and fled without offering any resistance worth mentioning. Fidai Khan and Nur Jahan Begum fought longer and bravely, and would have gladly rallied their retreating troops. For the name of Mahabat Khan, which every one feared, had done more (to rout the royal forces) than his army, since he had only 5000 Rajputs against their 50000 horse. About 2000 were slain in the battle and about as many were drowned in the river, which was covered with elephants and horses. Their masters were picked up by boats and other vessels. Khwaja Abdul Hasan also fell into the river and his life was in danger, but he was saved by his men. Khwaja Jawahar Khan who also fell into the river and was drowned. Abdus Samad, son of Maulana Kamal, and Abdul Khaliq were killed in the battle.

Mahabat Khan crossed the river after this victory and proceeded towards the royal tents. The guards who offered resistance were slain. Entering, he found that the King was still asleep. On his opening the parda or the curtains he (the King) awoke^{oo}, and saw

himself surrounded by 1000 Rajputs. Finding no guards or attendants either to his right or his left, he almost died of fear, which changed his whole being. Just then Gajpat Khan⁹¹ came running with an elephant, his object being to help the King to escape by mounting it. Mahabat Khan made a sign to his Rajputs and they immediately cut Gajpat Khan and also Heziom (Hashim), the son of one of the nobles, to pieces in the King's presence. The King was given no time to change his dress, as he wished, and was forced to mount the elephant of Mahabat Khan. A company of Rajputs marched in front and another behind this elephant, A Rajput who was a relation of Rai Ratan Singh, was mounted behind the King. Mahabat Khan had given him the order to kill if any reinforcements arrived which they were too weak to resist. The king was thus carried as a prisoner by Mahabat Khan who brought him into his own tents. In the meantime Asaf Khan, his son, and the son of Mir Mirza who had commenced to retreat as soon as the battle began had fled far away. Fidai Khan who resisted longer, was wounded and escaped with 5 or 6 followers.

The Rajputs now surrounded the tents of the Queen and kept her confined there.⁹² Iradat Khan and Makhen Das, the diwan of Asaf Khan, were captured alive. The shouting and shrieking in the King's camp filled the heaven and earth. The Rajputs plundered all the hoards of gold, silver and jewels and innumerable articles of value belonging to the court's men. For greater security, Mahabat Khan took into custody Sultan Bolaqui, Sultan Shahr Yar, and the son of Danyal Shah and appointed Rajputs to guard them, like the royal tent. The King and all his family thus became Mahabat Khan's prisoners. Next day Khwaja Abdul Hasan went to Mahabat Khan and made his submission, for now Mahabat controlled all that was formerly under the King. Sadiq Khan, brother of Asaf Khan, who had quarrelled with the Khurasani's and had fought against them, was appointed governor of Lahore.

When formerly Nur Jahan Begum used to ride out, with people playing and singing before her, she was received by every one with marks of excessive honour and reverence, even like a goddess. This was forbidden by Mahabat Khan, saying that honour was due not to her but to the King.

Asaf Khan fled to Attock with his son Mirza Abu Talib, formerly governor of Lahore, and others. Mahabat Khan sent 2000 Ahadis and a number of Rajputs to Attock to capture Asaf Khan alive and bring him. Seeing that he could not escape, Asaf Khan surrendered on receiving the promise that his life would be spared. In the meantime, Mahabat Khan, following the road to Kabul, where the King wished to go, also arrived there. Asaf Khan, his son, and the son of Mir Mirza were loaded with fetters and produced before the King and Mahabat Khan. The King ordered that the traitors should be confined in Mahabat Khan's prison, and that is how he thought fit to treat them. Mahabat Khan had Asaf Khan thrown into chains and he was then handed over to the Rajputs. The sons of Asaf Khan and Mir Mirza were also loaded with chains and carried on an elephant. The father (Asaf Khan) surrounded by guards, sat alone on an elephant, and he had nothing to protect him against the burning sun. At length the King and Mahabat Khan reached Kabul.⁹³

Maulana Mahammad and Ibrahim Khan were daily subjected to harsh treatment in the prison, and given a hundred shoe-beatings in the face, as the result of which Maulana Mohammad finally died.

I have said above the King had appointed Muzaffar Khan governor of Agra to take the place of Qasim Khan. But the wife of Qasim Khan, Mouniza Begum was not willing to leave Agra. Therefore, with all haste, she went to Lahore in order to persuade her sister to allow them to remain there. The assurance given by her was now rendered useless by the rise of Mahabat Khan to the highest power, (higher) even than that of a King. No one could call him by his name without being considered presumptuous. Because her sister now possessed very little authority, she went to Mahabat Khan (they were old friends and remembered it) to make her request, that her husband should not be removed from the governorship of Agra. Her request was granted and Mahabat Khan gave her a farman confirming it, with which she returned to Agra. Poor Muzaffar Khan was in office for only three days. When she came, he had to leave (the castle) and go to his own house, where he lived for some time.

After reaching Kabul Mahabat Khan wrote to Qasim Khan that he should send the two sons of Shah Jahan, who were then in Agra,

with Muzaffar Khan, who was still there. Muzaffar Khan set out from Agra towards Kabul taking with him the two sons of Shah Jahan and Qudsia Jahan and presents of elephants.

At this time Mahabat Khan placed Sultan Bulaqi and the son of Danyal Shah in the custody of a Rajput and sent them to Lahore.

News was now received that Shah Jahan, who was in the Deccan, was again marching and had reached Ajmir through the territory of the Rana, and was accompanied by the son of Raja Bhim. When Muzaffar Khan, who was in Delhi, heard this, he left there all his baggage and elephants, which might have hindered a rapid march and with the two children soon reached Lahore. This sudden outbreak of Khurram (they had supposed he was as good as dead and buried) caused great terror every where, particularly in Agra, as it was rumoured that he had been joined by some Raja with many Rajputs, and that he was determined to attack Agra, with the object of plundering it and incidentally to test (the loyalty) of his umra. Qasim Khan, therefore, thoroughly prepared the castle for defence, walling up all the gates, and erecting barricades in the streets to prevent a sudden inrush. All umra, merchants, heathens and those of any estate, deposited their goods in the castle and came to live there with their families. Sultan Khurram had sent Darya Khan ahead with 100 horse and some elephants and had himself reached Toda when he changed his plans on account of the sudden death of Raja Bhim's (son) in Ajmer on whom he chiefly depended. He recalled Darya Khan and with his small force, since the Rajputs were leaving him and returning to the house of their master, set out for Jaisalmer towards Thatta.

At this time Malik Ambar sent the umra Lashkar Khan, Mirza Manochohar, and Ibrahim Hasan, who were his prisoners, to Sultan Parwez. The latter ordered Rai Rattan Singh and other mansabdars to pursue Prince Khurram with a Rajput army. But Rai Ratan Singh had scarcely reached Ajmer when Khurram appeared before the town of Thatta, to which he laid siege. The son of Mahabat Khan, Khanazad Khan, who was the governor of Bengal, loaded 20 lack rupia on carts and sent them to his father, Mahabat Khan. The treasure safely reached Agra.

Sultan Khurram, who went to Bhakkar from Thatta, to try his fortune there, found himself opposed by Sharif Mulk, the governor there on behalf of the King. Darya Khan had besieged the town, but was beaten back with great loss of his troops. Sharif-ul-Mulk seeing the miserable condition of the Prince, sent him some money for expenses, telling him to go away and make no further attempt at war or insurrection in his Province. Otherwise he threatened to pursue him and drive him out.

Darya Khan induced Khurram to ignore these threats, He therefore returned and besieged the town with greater energy than before, and a serious lack of provisions and fuel was occasioned in the town. Therefore Sharif-ul-Mulk made a sortie in which Darya Khan Afghan was killed. Khurram was compelled to take refuge in flight. He escaped to Bhakkar and stopped there for some time, maturing plans to get away.

The King set out from Kabul towards Lahore. At the instigation of Nur Jahan Begum and with the permission of the King the Ahadis picked a quarrel with the Rajputs of Mahabat Khan, and before they could come together and slaughtered them like sheep.⁹⁴ Many who had been taken prisoner, were sold like dogs to the traders of Kabul. This enraged Mahabat Khan who bitterly complained to the King of having connived at the matter, and demanded justice against the brother and the son-in-law of Abdul Hassan, who had led and encouraged the Ahadis in the fight. The King delivered them into Mahabat Khan's hands, who shut them up in prison. But Nur Jahan Begum was beginning to recover her courage. She recruited large numbers of men every day and was conferring with secret enemies of Mahabat Khan with the object of devising the best means of destroying him before his intimate friends like Khan Alam and Rai Ratan Singh, whom he had summoned, could come to his assistance. She therefore wrote to Hoshiar Khan, who was the faujdar of Bajwara and Dasuha⁹⁵ to secretly recruit on her account 5000 Pathan, Sayyid or Shaikh-Zadas horse and to hold them with her other old soldiers in readiness to join her when she should have passed Attock. Hoshiar Khan, Foujdar, accordingly enrolled 5000 horse and paid them in advance. Nur Jahan also wrote secretly to some of her devoted ad-

herents in Lahore asking them to engage soldiers on her account and to pay them from her money. In the meantime, the King, having left Kabul, had arrived at Lahore by short daily marches. From day to day Nur Jahan Begum's courage increased and also the number of her soldiers. The secret enemies of Mahabat Khan had now begun to throw off the veil and openly join her. But as before, Asaf Khan was still a prisoner of Mahabat Khan, and the two sons of Shah Jahan, who had been brought to the King were also in his custody.

Fidai Khan who had escaped from the battle (of Attock) remained for a long time in Kohistan or the wilderness of Tulamba with Raja of Kumayun. After that he repaired to Raja Bir Singh, and from there wrote a letter to Sultan Parwez, seeking an asylum under his shadow. Sultan Parwez replied that he might come without fear, promising to treat him with the same honour with which he had been treated before by the King.

The King then crossed the river of Attock where the battle with the Coratsanes had been fought. He summoned Mahabat Khan and earnestly requested him that in honour of the great victory that he had won over his enemies in that place, he should, on the same place, set his prisoner Asaf Khan at liberty, and to perpetuate his memory, build a messidt or mosque there. Mahabat Khan was not at all willing to do so, but treated Asaf Khan henceforth a little more leniently, that is, formerly both of his legs had been fettered, now one was set free and he was also supplied with better food. When the King reached Bahed, (Jehlum) men from all sides came to enroll themselves in the army of Nur Jahan. From here Sultan Shahr Yar, the son-in-law of Nur Jahan Begum, was sent ahead to Lahore where he enrolled a large number of men, and made his army very strong. He took by force from the Rajputs Sultan Bulaqi and the two sons of Danyal Shah who had been sent from Kabul in their custody, and placed them under his own protection. He drove the Rajputs out of the fort of Lahore, occupied it himself and put it into a state of defence.

The King was travelling very slowly as he had been hunting near Bahed. One day Hoshiar Khan joined Nur Jahan with 5000 horse which made her very powerful. Mahabat Khan's friends

informed him about this, and warned him that Nur Jahan Begum was taking measures to destroy him and that therefore he should be on his guard since, including Hoshiar Khan's forces, she had now 20,000 horse under her. Mahabat Khan was not at all concerned about it, having the greatest confidence in his Rajputs. He said, "They are like sheep before me. God willing, I shall destroy and scatter them like sand in the wind." On the day following these occurrences, the King went to hunt, and Mahabat Khan was not with him. The King summoned Mirza Rustam Kandhari and talking in whispers said that as his old and faithful servant he should devise plans to rescue him from the clutches of Mahabat Khan. Mirza Rustam replied that as ordered he would try to find means of delivering him from the hand of the traitor.

The King then went into the mahal and said to Nur Jahan Begum that it was high time that they got rid of the traitor, and that it would be well if they could bring about that object in the following 2 or 3 days, "For," he added, "on reaching Lahore, he will kill all my people, and my plans will fail;" Nur Jahan thereupon replied that he should not worry about it, and that the very next day she would take steps (to achieve their object).

The king went to hunt the next day. All his umra had gathered together and more than 30,000 horse accompanied. Mahabat Khan, seeing this, felt afraid, and did not go with the King to hunt. In the evening all the umra stationed themselves round the King's tents and kept watch. Mahabat Khan went to see the King in the evening in the Ghusal Khana but in spite of all that he said or asked, the King did not once look at him or answer his questions, always turning the conversation to another topic. Mahabat Khan, finding that the tables were turned and that the King had become an altogether different person from what he used to be before, left the Ghusal Khana with all his attendants. He rode to his tents, which he immediately ordered to be struck, and to be pitched at a distance of half a coss from the King's tents.

The same evening the King sent Baland Khan to Mahabat Khan with a very angry message. He was commanded to say that he had been treating the King in a manner that was disgraceful, mean and

dishonourable, and that he may expect to be paid for it in a way that would be known throughout the world; but if he cared for his life or welfare, he should at once set at liberty and send to the King Asaf Khan with his son, and the son of Mir Mirza, brother of Khwaja Abdul Hsasan with his son-in-law, who were all his prisoners. Mahabat Khan was a proud man. He replied that he was no traitor but a supporter of the King and that he would gladly risk his life against the enemies of the kingdom. But considering the matter again (as he found himself opposed by the King with the whole of his army), and seeing no way out of the difficulty, Mahabat Khan decided to submit to the King's will. He begged the King to allow him to cross the river Behed and promised to set Asaf Khan free on the other bank and send him to the King. The King granted his request and permitted him to cross the river. But Nur Jahan wished to rescue her brother by force and thus to remove the disgrace she had suffered. She had kept her troops in readiness for the purpose, but the King was sending umra to Mahabat Khan every minute to persuade him to give up his obstinacy. He asked Mahabat Khan whether he wanted to become a rebel, since he did not obey the royal order to set Asaf Khan and all others whom he had imprisoned at liberty and send them to the King. Mahabat Khan, seeing that he had lost his chance, and that matters had taken such a turn that he was running a risk of not only losing his life but of being put to a shameful death, called Asaf Khan and asked him to swear on the Book (the Quran) that he would always be as a brother to him, since he was setting him at liberty, and had spared his life. "For" he said, "it was in my power to kill you," and in support of this, he showed to him several letters of the King, making it clear that he was commanded ten times to kill Asaf Khan and not to spare his life. "And I did not do it," he went on, "And it is still in my power to kill you, but for your sake, I wish to set you free. Therefore do not forget my kind action, and do not pay me for it by bringing false charges against me before the King, or setting traps for me." Asaf Khan promised on oath that henceforth Mahabat Khan would be much more to him than his own natural brother. The latter then, with his own hand, struck off the chains from Asaf Khan's hands and legs, dressed him in a royal robe, presented to him some magnificent Iraqi horses and sent him with great

pomp and splendour to the King, with the message that after crossing the Tzinen (Chenal), he would also set free and send to the King the son of Asaf Khan and Mir Mirza, and the brother and the son-in-law of Khwaja Abdul Hasan. The King agreed to it, and at the same time sent to Mahabat Khan as presents a dress of honour, an elephant and some horses. Nur Jahan Begum likewise sent him some horses and a dress of honour.

As an excuse for getting rid of Mahabat Khan, the King asked him to prepare to set out for Thatta, since he had learnt that his rebellious son Sultan Khurram had taken refuge there. The next day Asaf Khan went to the King and fell at his feet, who sympathised with him in his misfortunes and the great hardships that he had endured. He presented to Asaf Khan horses and a dress of honour. Asaf Khan then went to his sister Nur Jahan Begum, who was seriously displeased with him. She asked him angrily as to why he was in such haste to escape from the hands of the traitor and told him that if he had a little more patience, she would have fought and rescued him by force, made Mahabat Khan like dust of the earth and punished him in a manner so as to make him an object-lesson for the whole world.

Asaf Khan appeased her by saying that one must not think of the past or of what had happened. "On the other hand," he said, "Mahabat Khan did a memorable service to me in so long sparing my life. And if, at such a time, you had sent an army against him, it was still in his power to kill me. You may have then defeated and slain him, but how would that have helped me"?

People say that when Asaf Khan saw the King for the first time (after his release) the King asked him if he was conscious of or knew the extent of his obligation to Mahabat Khan. He replied that he was, because Mahabat Khan had spared his life and he added that he would never forget the obligation or to repay him (Mahabat Khan) if he was able to do so, and that he would have nothing to do with any one trying to bring about his ruin.

When Mahabat Khan had crossed the river Chenab, he set at liberty the son of Asaf Khan and Mir Mirza and the brother and the son-in-law of Khwaja Abdul Hasan and sent them to the King.

He then left the place and pitched his tents 10 coss from Lahore⁹⁶ and (afterwards) took the road to thana.

The King rejoiced to enter Lahore with all his people. Nur Jahan Begum was still busy with plans for revenging herself upon and destroying Mahabat Khan. At this time the gasanna or treasure which Khanazad Khan had sent to his father from Bengal, had been sent from Agra (when the commotion caused by Khurram had ceased) and reached Thaneser. Nur Jahan sent one of her friends Ahmad Khan, who was a cousin of Ibrahim Khan with Sher Khan, Nur-ud-Din Quli and Anirai (Sangh Dalan) and 10,000 horse to seize this gasanna, amount to 26 lack ropia, from Mahabat Khan's soldiers, and to bring it to Lahore.

On receiving this order the nobles mentioned above set off from Lahore without delay and found that the gasanna had been carried to Serai Shahabad which was surrounded by a stone wall. The gasanna was guarded by 500 Rajput bowmen and musketeers, who had fortified the Sarai and put it into a state of defence. When Mahabat Khan learnt that 10,000 horse had been sent to capture the treasure, he returned to Suna and marched through Lakhy Jungle. Nur Jahan Begum called Khan-i-Khanan and with many promises and sweet words informed him that by the King's command he had been assigned an income of 7000 horse. In addition she gave him on her own account, elephants, horses and soldiers. She desired that he should go in pursuit of Mahabat Khan to destroy him, if possible. She reminded him that Mahabat Khan had put his son Darab Khan and his nephew to death without any order from the King, and it was fitting that he should energetically pursue the traitor to wreak vengeance on him for shedding innocent blood.

Khan-i-Khanan excused himself two or three times, saying that he had grown old and could not bear the fatigues of war. But she forced this duty upon him, and gave him money for the purpose. Khan-i-Khanan had to go whether he liked it or not. He was given all the income of Ranthambore and the surrounding country, and all that Mahabat Khan had enjoyed. Finally he was given leave and he set off in Mahabat Khan's pursuit.

Himmat Beg Khan, Safi Khan, Nemra and Nur-ud-din, Quli Hassan, who had been sent on behalf of the King with 2000 Ahadis

to capture Mahabat Khan's treasure, reached Sarai Shahabad and fought for two or three days against the Rajputs who had occupied the Sarai. Many Ahadis were killed and wounded but finally, with the help of their great numbers, they stormed and captured the Sarai. Some of the Rajputs were killed, but the greater number were made prisoner and brought outside. The treasure was seized in the name of the King, and Himmatt Beg Khan carried it to the King and Nur Jahan Begum to Lahore. The latter, on her own account, made a present of two month's wages to the Ahadis.

Mahabat Khan had appointed his youngest son, named Mirza Bahrawar Faujder of Narnol, and sent him with 2000 or 3000 horse to attack Raja Sher Singh. (chhatr ?) But he ran away, becoming a rebel against his father and returned to the castle Bangar. This news overwhelmed the father who seemed to have become helpless. Thereupon almost all the Rajputs, Mogols and Sayyids, who were in his service, plundered much of his treasure and property and left him. This caused him great pain.

Before luck had turned against Mahabat Khan, his Vakil had brought some of his treasure, which was in Agra, into his castle of Ranthambore. Mirza Bahrawar, who knew it, came close to Ranthambore, intending to enter the castle, with the object of plundering the treasure. Mohtsib Khan, a Rajput governor⁹⁷ did not let him enter, but shut the castle and prepared to defend it.

(NOTA). The King who was at this time at Lahore learnt that his third son Parwez had died⁹⁸ after a long illness such being the will of God. The King's grief over the death was immeasurable. For Parwez loved his father very much and was more gentle and obedient than the other sons. His father also loved him deeply, for he was not of any ambitious or proud spirit, but always submissively obeyed the King's commands. The King now grew anxious as to who should succeed to the throne after his death. Khurram was the ablest, but he was a rebel who harboured designs against his life. The youngest, Sultan Shahr Yar was a man without sense or understanding, and not fit to govern a kingdom. Nur Jahan Begum much favoured him, as he was her son-in-law.

After the death of Prince Parwez, Khan Jahan immediately imprisoned or arrested various umra, mansabdars and servants who had been with him constantly and who had attended him during his last illness. He sent them to the King to be questioned as to how Prince Parwez died, for it was they who had always given him food and drink.

When Mahabat Khan received the news of Sultan Parwez's death he was still more depressed, for they were much attached to each other. As most of his followers had deserted him, he sent some elephants and baggage for which he had no use, from Lackhi Jungle to the King. He himself repaired to the Province of Zialor (Jalore) and (Raja) Jaimal, where there is a great tank. With the consent of Raja Jaimal, ⁹⁹ he took up his quarters in the Raja's castle. Mirza Bahrawar, his son, who had marched against Ranthambore fell into the hands of Rai Ratan Singh at Bondhi, who kept him for some time in custody. Sultan Khurram, who was still in the Province of Thatta, started on the road to Thal with 1000 horse and 40 elephants and reached the frontiers of Chobager, and from there he marched to Nasik Trimbak in the Deccan through Ankleswar (in Broach District, Bombay). Before Sultan Khurram arrived there, or before Mahabat Khan's condition had become desperate, Malik Ambar died in the Deccan. He was succeeded by his son, who governed the country as his father had done before him. He received Khurram with honour and helped him with whatever he required. Qutb-ul-Mulk also sent Khurram some money.

Safdar Khan, Nur-ud-din Quli and Anirai, who had been sent to capture Mahabat Khan's treasure, were sent by Nur Jahan Begum, after this exploit, to Ajmer in pursuit of Mahabat Khan. They travelled by the way of Delhi and Narnol, where they stopped for some time.

Fidai Khan who had for a long time been in refuge in the territory of Bharat Singh, now finding the path clear, returned joyfully and without fear to the King and Nur Jahan Begum at Lahore, travelling through Agra. Nur Jahan Begum received with him great honour and appointed him commander of 3000 horse.

Now since Mahabat Khan and even his very name, seemed to have ceased to exist, Nur Jahan Begum began to attack his followers, bringing charges of treason against them. First of all Mirza Arabdost Yar was arrested. He was required to account for the ducats which he had received from Mahabat Khan. The amount was 3000 (ducats) and he had immediately handed over the money to Rayinhan. But when the innocent Arab saw that they wished to proceed further against him and to ruin and disgrace him for ever, he thrust his own poniard two or three times into his stomach and in consequence died two days later.

Sadiq Khan was another adherant of Mahabat Khan. His house was plundered and all that he possessed, money, jewellery, nothing excepted, was seized by Nur Jahan Begum. The house of Ram Raj was also plundered and he was daily given the bastinado. All of them were ruined and reduced to poverty.

Khan-i-Khanan died of disease and old age in Delhi, when he was ready to follow up Khurram with his army. He was buried in Delhi. His sons and daughters, who were with him sealed up and took care of all the treasure and other goods which he had left behind.

Yakub Khan had been the chief umra of Malik Ambar. After the latter's death, ill-feeling arose between him and Malik Ambar's son, and he therefore fled to Khan Jahan at Burhan Pur. He was kindly received and given an asylum, and the King appointed him commander of 5000, as he was in the Deccan. The son of Malik Ambar then took possession by force of some places in the Deccan which belonged to the King. Khan Jahan therefore left the women and son of Sultan Parwez in Burhan Pur, appointing Lashkar Khan commander of the town and set out for the Deccan with an army of 40,000 horse and 40 of the best elephants of Sultan Parwez, and reached Ballaghat. In the meantime a letter written by Khwaja Hissari(?), addressed to Abdulla Khan, came into the hands of Khan Jahan, from which it appeared that Abdulla Khan was evilly inclined and was thinking of deserting to the side of Malik Ambar's son. Khan Jahan therefore called Abdulla Khan and loaded him with fetters. His women and goods were seized and he himself was sent

to Burhan Fur in the custody of Azad Khan. Khan Jahan then crossed the Ballaghat. The young Malik retired before him, so that he entered the Deccan and passed Kharki. He was now in the Deccan and thought he had won the war. He burnt down and plundered many important towns that had never before suffered this fate. But the Deccanis surrounded him on all sides and blocked the road by which he had come, and more than once cut off large parties of his men. They held him there for a long time, so that the whole of his army, beasts as well as men, almost died of starvation, the reasons being that the roads round about were all blocked. He was thus compelled to come to terms with the son of Malik Ambar and to surrender much territory of the king, whose annual income amounted to 40 lack ropia and to remove his governors. He then returned to Burhanpur without having gained anything, but having inflicted much loss on the King.

The son of Mahabat Khan named Bahrawar was sent by Rai Ratan Singh to Qasim Khan at Agra where he was kept in confinement in his father's house. He petitioned the King for employment in his service.

In this year the King sent a kind letter to Khana Zad Khan, who was governor of Bengal, accompanied by presents of horses and a dress of honour, recalling him from Bengal to Court. He was told to come without fear or anxiety, for the King regarded him as his son. Mukarram Khan, who was under Khana Zad Khan, was appointed in his place, and made a commander of 5000 horse.

At this time Sayyid Borckha came to the King Jahangir as ambassador from the King of Mavaraunnahar, accompanied by Khwaja Abdu Rahim, brother of Khwaja Kalan, of a race held in the highest esteem by their countrymen, so much so that they have no equal. This is because the inhabitants of Mavaraunnahar, Bokhara, Sammarquand and Balkh regard them as holy and make gifts to them, so that they possess more wealth, goods, horses, camels, sheep and other animals than the King of Mavaraunnahar.

When Sayyid Brockha and Khwaja Rahim had arrived 10 coss from Lahore, the King sent Khwaja Abdul Hassan and all umra, with the exception of Asaf Khan, to receive and bring them to him. Abdul

Rahim was conducted to the King with the greatest honour and great honour was shown to them both by Nur Jahan Begum and the King. When Abdul Rahim paid his first visit to Nur Jahan Begum, he presented to her a saucer and a cup filled with perfumes. The saucer, the cup and its cover were worth a lack ropia being inlaid with gems. Abdul Rahim then presented to the King and Nur Jahan Begum, 500 dromedaries of exceptional beauty, 1000 horses, carpets and much porcelain of curious workmanship and more other toffas. Sayyid Brochar presented on behalf of his King 2000 magnificent horses, 1000 dromedaries, pretty and perfumed Bolgari skins and other valuables. Never before had any ambassador from Mavaraunnahar brought such presents. All these were displayed before the King. The King was delighted beyond measure and held great feasts and entertainments. He found great pleasure in the company of Khwaja Abdul Rahim.

In the year 1036 or the year of Christ 1626, Mahabat Khan left the country of Jaimal where he had taken refuge for some time and repaired to Raja Rana. After he had presented some elephants and horses, the Rana promised to give him shelter so that he could live there safe from the King's forces. As soon as Nur Jahan Begum learnt that Mahabat Khan had sought refuge there, she sent letters to the Raja Rana through Gopiath Ziogie, saying that if he did not wish to turn the King's wrath upon himself he should arrest the traitor or at least drive him out of his territory. The Rana was overcome with fear, and he showed a bye-path through the mountains to Mahabat Khan by which he might save himself. Safi Khan, Nur-ud-din Quli and Anirai were coming in his pursuit and like sheep he fled before them from one cave to another. Mahabat Khan had a very small army with him as most of his Rajputs had dropped off during the course of his eternal flight. He had about 400 of his most trusted and chief officers, who followed him, and he was able to move rapidly. Finally he came to Raja Ranoet Singh Rajput who had a standing army of 10,000 horse and 1,20,000 foot-soldiers, and occupied a strong position on account of the mountainous nature of the country.

He gave Mahabat Khan shelter and swore to be loyal to him and said that he might live in his territory as long as he pleased.

Nur Jahan ordered Khwaja Qasim, the ex-diwan of Agra, to return to Agra and bring all the King's articles of silver and gold which were kept in the castle. e. g., plates, vessels, Chandeliers, columns etc. Having received them from the governor, he loaded 40 carts with them and returned,

Abdulla Khan was kept as a prisoner in the castle of Asir until his fate should be decided. Then came a special order from the King that his eyes should be extracted in a way so as not to injure them, and sent to him. The King was deeply offended with Abdulla Khan on account of his treason against the King's own person when he went over to Khurram's side (although the offence had been pardoned at the intercession of Nur Jahan Begum, Sultan Parwez and Khan Jahan) and further, because for a second time, he had planned the destruction of the whole of Khan Jahan's army by entering into treasonable correspondence with the Deccanis. Laskhar Khan, who was then officiating as governor (Khan Jahan had not yet returned from the expedition to the Deccan) rode to Asir in order to carry out the King's command, but could not find a barber or other person in the castle who would undertake to extract the eyes without injuring them. A master (artist) was therefore sent for from Burhan Pur, which is 7 coss from the castle. Fortunately for the faithless Abdulla Khan, another farman or order had arrived in the meantime to the effect that nothing may be done to Abdulla Khan's eyes. This was the result of the favourable regard of Nur Jahan Begum for Abdulla Khan.

When most of the revolts had been suppressed and the country was safe from danger, the King for the fifth time set off for Kashmir in the month of Rajab, appointing Mirza Abu Tarab, governor of Lahore,

Fidai Khan was very much elevated in rank by Nur Jahan Begum. He was assigned an income of 5000 horse and appointed governor of Bengal in place of Mukarram Khan.

Khanazad Khan, who had, since his return from Bengal, remained with the King and enjoyed his highest regard, was now sent as governor to the province of Bangesh. Before leaving Lahore

for Kashmir the King had appointed Shahr Yar commander of 40,000 horse. At Nur Jahan Begum's command a great gathering was held in Shahr Yar's garden where all the nobles who were present in the palace or the camp made obeissance (Salam) to him, which signified that he was to succeed to the Kingdom.

After the death of Sultan Parwez, the pursuit of Mahabat Khan, and on the other side, of Sultan Khurram was more energetically taken in hand. With this object letters were sent to the Deccanis and the neighbouring kings that if they valued the King's friendship, they should not give shelter to, but send to the King men (Mahabat Khan and Khurram) who deserved to be severely dealt with if the King's patience was at length run to an end.

Adil Khan of Golconda gave his daughter in marriage to Sultan Khurram who was still in the castle of Ganeer (Assir) in the Deccan, having 400 cavalry and 200 elephants with him. He hoped still.

Lashkar Khan who acted as the Governor of Burhan Pur in the absence of Khan Jahan, was summoned by the King, and shortly afterwards set off with Abdulla Khan, who was still a prisoner in the castle of Assir. The latter was brought to the King by the brother of Fidai Khan, named Mirza. His offence was pardoned for the queen's sake. The corpse of Sultan Parwez, who had died in Burhan Pur, was taken by his widow to Agra, to be buried in his garden which stands on the upper bank of the river. It was intended to build a magnificent tomb there, but by the order of the Begum the body was exhumed and, for reasons of economy buried in the garden of his grandfather Akbar at Sikandara or Bihashtabad.

In the month of Muharram Raja Bir Singh Bundela died in his territory. He was a great friend of Khurram. Raja Bharat succeeded his brother.

In the same month, the King, after spending six months in Kashmir, set out for Lahore.

A few days before this, the son-in-law and many friends of Khan-i-Khanan received promotion, each according to his station, on the condition and promise that they would immediately start with all their forces in pursuit of Mahabat Khan. They crossed the mountain of

Bhimber with 10,000 horses before the King. Mahabat Khan had taken refuge with Raja Rawat Singh. He was now tired of seeking an asylum among men whose manners and customs were very different from his own. He had always associated, or spent the greater part of his life in intercourse, with kings and princes, and although by descent he was not one himself, he was equal to one in rank. He therefore determined to find means of restoring his lost fortunes, so as not to end his life as a nameless fugitive in exile. The King had ordered him to follow up Khurram to destroy him or to capture him. He resolved to go to the Deccan, but to make peace with him through the exchange of letters. He parted from Raja Rawat Singh in the month of Muharram and reached the territory of Raja Bipelie, having with him 3-4000 horses, which he had engaged on route. From Kharki, which is 30 coss north of Surat he followed the route along, so as to reach Khurram unmolested by the royal troops. Khurram, when he learnt that Mahabat Khan was coming, sent some of his dignitaries ahead to welcome him, and to offer him on their master's behalf, terms of eternal friendship. He did not think of their old hostility, but considered him worthy of eternal praise for his loyalty to the King.

Three days later Mahabat Khan met Khurram. He received Mahabat Khan very kindly and then asked him as to what they should do, Mahabat Khan replied: "Let us make preparations for departure and gather as large a force as possible. Luck might favour us this time. All that I have, my treasure and my person, till I die, will be employed in your service."

The great, and kind hearted King Jahangir died in the month of Rabi-ul-Awwal on his way from Kashmir, between Bhimber and Lahore. He died of a violent attack of fever, after suffering from it for 14 days, at the age of 63, having reigned for 22 years after the death of his father Akbar¹⁰⁰. On account of his habitual timidity he did not see far ahead (and settle) as to who should succeed to the Kingdom after his death, fearing that it might lead to a great revolt, readily giving rise to a civil war. However when he was dying he expressed his earnest desire to Khwaja Abdul Hasan and Asaf Khan that Sultan Bulaqi, the son of Khusrâu, who was at the time with his grandfather,

should succeed to the Kingdom. His wife Nur Jahan Begum, also promised to follow the King's wishes in the matter. But Jahangir had built up his empire on a weak foundation, and could not discover even till the end the cunning nature of his wife, and died like a blind man. For he took no steps to have him, whom he wished to be succeeded by, declared King before his nobles, or seated on the tacket or the throne, which is of great importance, like the coronation in Europe; further he knew very well that Bulaqi was a young prince and had very little following, because, as much as possible, he had always been kept under strict control by the Begum, and denied freedom of movement. Many loved him (Bulaqi) for his father's sake, who was a brave and sensible Prince, and wished that he (Khusrau) had inherited the Kingdom; first because he was the eldest son, and second, because his grand-father Akbar ignoring his rebellious son Jahangir, wished to be succeeded by him. Jahangir also did the same, on account of the rebellious conduct of his son Khurram, and desired to give to the son that of which he had deprived the father. But can it be believed that that vicious woman, who is filled with cunning up to the throat, will be deterred from her purpose on account of a simple word of promise? She has been working for years to make her son-in-law, Shahr Yar, king so that by this means, she might, as before, retain the highest power and authority in her own hands, till the end of her life. For Shahr Yar is the youngest son. He is, in addition, wanting in sense and effeminate one who prefers wasting his time in his mahals or the seraglio to spending it in princely or manly occupations. In the judgement of the great as well as the small he is unfit (to rule).

Nothing can be stated with certainty as the issue still belongs to the future. We may, however, discuss the question as to whose chances (of succession) are the greatest. In regard to the choice of a new king the nobles may be divided into three groups accordingly as they are inclined in favour of Sultan Bulaqi, Sultan Shahr Yar or the eldest Sultan Khurram.

I may say at the outset that there is very little hope or chance for Bulaqi. The reasons have been stated above; he has no treasure or adherents comparable with those of the others, but only what his

grandfather left him; his good will towards him and the wish (that he should succeed him) unless the Queen supported him, which her great ambition for wordly glory (for which alone she cares) would never allow her to do. For this reason it seems probable that Shahr Yar will be the successor, for even during the lifetime of his father, after the death of his brother Parwez in Burhanpur, he enjoyed the income of 40,000 horse, and in addition, counts on the help of his cunning mother-in-law, who has both the kingdom and the treasure in her power. For the governor of Agra is her sister's husband Qasim Khan, and here is still kept the greater part of the treasure left by King Akbar. The gold has not been touched at all; the copper money and most of the silver were consumed in the war against the Deccan and Khurram. Lahore is in the hands of Abu Tarab, son of Asaf Khan, her brother. Here is kept the treasure left by King Jahangir, in addition to the very great amount of wealth which the Queen has amassed during 15 years, which is more than that left by the King. Besides she has a large following, of newly created nobles who have obtained rank and wealth through her and are therefore at her command. There remains only Sultan Khurram who is a poor exile in the Deccan, living in the hope of a favourable turn of events. He had many friends, but they were compelled to leave him in the course of his flight on account of his terrible distress and adversity. There were others who had helped him with money, but when his plans miscarried and he was being malignantly pursued, they could never even mention him. For how else one could talk about Khurram except as a rebel and a traitor who deserved to die. He was a suspect and his fortunes were uncertain. Many common people and soldiers were plundered just because they had formerly served under Khurram.

All these persons on account of their natural inclination in favour of Khurram, urged him, as soon as they could recover their breath to make a bid for the Empire and promised to help him with their persons and property. It all depends on the result of one or two battles, the losing or winning of which often ends war in this country. For these reasons, in the interest of the country's welfare, it was desirable that the thread of the King's life had been longer, so that he

had left the Empire in a better and more peaceful condition. For it is to be feared that none so benevolent as he (Jahangir) was, will succeed him.

Jahangir was a handsome man in his youth, but not tall of stature. He was very ambitious, always striving after more and greater (things). That was also evident from his conduct during his father's lifetime, for when he rebelled his object was to make an independent kingdom of Bengal and Patna. He was a great friend of all foreigners, and artists, whom he loved and treated generously. The Jesuits specially, since the time of Akbar, with their sugared tongues and pretence of piety were much favoured. They had been permitted to build a church in Agra and to make converts, which Jahangir confirmed after his father's death. In addition, he assigned certain incomes for the maintenance of the church and gave them permission to build a cloister in Lahore. They were thus more favoured than other foreigners. He was a great lover of all novelties which he had never seen before, and was excessively fond of jewels. His father, when trying to discover the inclination of his mind, when he was a child youth, found that it was towards precious stones. He used, therefore, to give his own jewels to Jahangir's umra, to be sold to his son, by this means he prevented him from having too much money, and by taking money out of his hands for a long time kept him under control.

On becoming king, Jahangir was at first very severe. He meted out strict justice to all evil-doers, for which he was called Adil Padshah, or the "Just" king. This lasted until he got into the clutches of this woman, who has ruined his fair name. He then wholly gave himself up to pleasure and paid no or little attention to his Empire, as if it did not concern him. Hunting was the only manly exercise in which he still found pleasure. He hunted every day, irrespective of weather, rain or wind. In the afternoon, after his nap, if inclined to hunt, he would mount his horse, or an elephant and go out with the hawks which would he let fly, or to shoot with the gun, in the use of which he was a great master. He hunted tigers, or lions, or went out with trained leopards to catch deer and remained in the jungle till the golden evening. He then returned and gave audience in the Ghush Khana, where all the nobles came to do obeisance, and

foreigners, who had anything to seek obtained a hearing. This lasted for a quarter or more in the night. During this time he regularly finished 3 jugs of wine, sipping the wine every now and then, crying and shouting to those, standing around him in a manner which must have been edifying. It was like the royal drinking bouts which used to be customary in our country. When he had drunk his last cup, every one went away and they led him to sleep. When all men had departed, the queen came out in all her splendour, undressed him and put him to sleep in a hanging bed, which was constantly rocked outwies he got no sleep. His wife knew well how to use her opportunities for he always said 'Yes' and scarcely 'No' to whatever she asked or desired.

He was by nature generous, but his natural inclination was very much kept in check by his wife or Asaf Khan. The chief sufferers were poor merchants, who, when selling their goods, found their profits so much reduced by sharp higgling that in the end no one wished to sell anything in the great palace and if he did so, it was against his will. The great nobles of the Empire do it (beat down merchants) apparently in the interests of the King. They victimise those who live on their profits, but forget that for every thousand of which they rob the merchant they rob the King of a hundred thousand for their own selfish gain.

The end of his life or old age was embittered by a deep-felt sorrow, which silently deprived him of all mental peace. This was caused in the first place, by the impalacable hatred which he bore towards his son Khurram, the reason being that the latter had earnestly tried to make himself king, while his father still lived. He did so not because he lacked anything for he was treated in every way like a Prince but because of his vain ambition, having been led away from the path of obedience by the bad advice of self seeking persons. Notwithstanding this, a large amount of territory was given to him as his own by his father; namely the whole of Gujarat and Burhan Pur, extending to Mandu, Berar, and a part of the Deccan, where in seven or eight years he amassed a large treasure. The King did not listen to those who were endeavouring to reconcile him with his

son, but gave to the latter the name of "Bedoulet" or "the unblessed one".

It appears that God wished to chastise Jahangir as an example to others. Firstly he was punished in the sense that his mind remained undeveloped ; further he suffered doubly for the pain and worry that he had caused his old father Akber for four or five years. This is an object lesson for those who may be impelled by a similar spirit ; they should take heed against rebelling against their father and mend the error of their ways, for God does not let the wicked child go unpunished.

In the second place he suffered in his mind because he found himself too much in the power of his wife and her associates, and the thing had gone so far that there were no means of escaping from that position. She did with him as she liked, his daily reward being pretended love and sweet words, for which he had to pay dearly. All his Provinces, towns and villages, and the annual income of each, are entered in a royal register in charge of Dewan Khwaja Abdul Hassan. Income is assigned according to rank to princes, umra and masnabdars-whether commanders of 100,1000, or 10,000 horse. The total income is barely sufficient to maintain the crowd of Khurasanis in their excessive pomp, and to enable them to amass money. They were the scums of the earth and starved in their own country. But any one having a nephew or relation at Court, comes to Hindustan, pretending to have come from his distant country out of love to serve his King, and is immediately made a high dignitary. So much of the golden treasure of the King was wasted on this crowd that there was not much left for his own daily needs, and so far from accumulating wealth, he was compelled to encroach on the treasure left by his father for meeting extraordinary expenditure, as that caused by wars etc. It is indeed true that he spent much money on jewels, and in the judgment of many people, he had a larger collection of precious stones than all other rulers of India put together. But this is very little as compared to the wealth that he might have amassed in 22 years, in such a large country which, for the most part he has ruled in peace.

But the common people or the inhabitants of the country are poor. They have always been plagued by the gnawing worm (poverty) which has consumed them so that they have nothing more left than subsistence or what is required to fill their stomach. The reason is that governors and administrators employ all means of exploiting a town and robbing it on some pretext or other. Should there happen to be a bad harvest, so that the peasants cannot pay the revenue imposed upon them, they are charged with rebellion; the land is confiscated and their women and children sold. But as will have been easily seen, this, the consequence of the character of the governors, for they are foreigners and they care very little about taking extreme steps so long as they are able to amass wealth. Secondly, the insecurity of their tenure encourages them to plunder and steal, and that may well be so, as no one knows how long he will be kept in his appointment, which depends upon royal pleasure. Such was the experience of Mirza Khurram, and therefore when he was going to take charge of a government (to which he had been appointed) he sat on his horse in the wrong way, with his face turned toward the horse's tail. When the King was told about it, he called him and asked him why he did that. He replied, "To see if any one was following me to whom my place had already been promised." The King laughed heartily and promised to keep him there for three years. Others with gifts and presents to the Queen easily get themselves transferred from one Province to another.

It is to be feared that disorder will increase if the Khurasanis, that is the Queen, with her 4 sisters and two brothers, retained the supreme power in their hands. For each would be eager to promote his (or her) own favourites. It seems that they regret that they cannot divide the Empire among themselves, just ignoring the inhabitants (of the country) and legitimate heirs. In view of existing circumstances, no improvement can be expected, unless fickle fortune smiled upon Khurram and he became King. In that case it is certain that reforms will be introduced, for he is an ambitious and a jealous Prince, and would much rather die than share the rule with, or be ruled by another.

In the month of Rabbi-ul-Awal, Sab Khan, who had been diwan of

Gujarat, was summoned by the King on account of certain complaints brought against him by his rivals. Instead of being punished (as many thought he would be), however, he obtained the governorship of Ahmadabad, and all that goes with it, and returned to that town. He had been proceeded thither by the son of Khan Jahan, named Khan Zada, who gave over charge to Asaf Khan's people.

When it became known that the King was dead, Safi Khan resolved to take possession of the fort of Surat. He therefore, enquired secretly from his follower, Sayyid Nur-uddin Quli, who was Foudar or dressart of the district of Surat, whether he could find means of taking possession of the fort, since he had formerly been its governor and was familiar with its situation. Sayyid Nur-uddin replied that with the help of his two brothers he would accomplish that object in the simplest and most certain manner, since he knew that the garrison consisted of a very small number of soldiers. Next morning he rode to the castle with about 20 men, with the ostensible object of speaking to the Governor. He was therefore immediately admitted, with 4 followers, as usual. The governor, Mirza Quli Beg, who was sitting in the verandah of the castle facing the river, with two or three men, thought that he had come to usual, or that he had brought news in connection with the rumour that was current that Sultan Khurram was marching to Surat. One of Nur-uddin's men saluted him, in the manner of Judas, for he immediately seized with one hand his (Mirza's) sword, and with the other his poniard, saying "Give yourself up as Safi Khan's prisoner". The governor struggled to free himself but was caught hold of by other traitors, who took away his gun and bound his hands and feet. In the meantime Sayyid Nur-uddin Quli ran up to the front part of the gate and gave to his men the appointed signal. They captured the gate without much resistance and closed it. Mirza Quli Beg was kept in custody.

The Mirza invited this trouble on account of his insatiable greed. In the place of 2-300 horse which he was bound to maintain on behalf of the King, he kept scarcely 50, and stole the rest of the money. If he had a sufficient force, it would not have been possible for them to bring off the coup.

Now we may consider, what puzzles every one, as to why Safi Khan ordered the fort to be captured, since Mirza Quli Beg was a King's servant, and so also did Safi Khan seem to be. It must be that he was also an adherent of the Queen and feared that in case Khurram arrived, Quli Beg would make over the fort to him, since Khurram was old master. This is shown to be true by what followed.

About 8 days after this occurrence, Sultan Khurram accompanied by Mahabat Khan and with a force of 7-8000 horse, suddenly appeared before Surat, before any one had certain news of his approach. He encamped close to the town, and through a coutewael or scout had it proclaimed by beat of drum that no one should feel afraid, but open their shops and carry on their business as usual; and that if any of his soldiers wronged any one even by a peysa, he would scourge them. This produced a great sense of security among the people, and all dignitaries and merchants of all nationalities went out to welcome him with presents.

Next day he sent an Ahadi with a letter to Sayyid Nur-ud-Din Quli, demanding the surrender of the fort, and holding out promises of advancement, if fortune favoured him. He replied that he was only a servant of Safi Khan and had been ordered not only not to surrender the fort, but to risk his life in its defence.

It does not seem likely that they will side with the Prince unless he unexpectedly received help from Rajas, which is probable. And should he even fail to reduce the fort of Surat, no one could prevent him from enjoying the income of the town and the district. In the meantime he can go to Gujarat to push his fortunes there, and to see if he can make himself master of Ahmadabad. This would depend upon the result of a battle, if he is opposed. For if he is not opposed by other towns and on the way, undoubtedly Ahmadabad will not resist, and it can yield a sufficient income to enable him to render his position more secure and thus to find a rallying place for his troops in that part of the country.

It is more or less a fact that every one is more or less afraid of him, and no one follows him seriously except Mahabat Khan. This may be easily judged from his long and difficult marches through

mountainous and foreign territory, whose rulers owed no allegiance to his father but were his enemies. They gave him passage through their territories and otherwise helped him.

First of all, he fled from Burhan Pur and reached Masulipatnam through the Deccan. From there he marched to Orissa by bye-paths along the sea-shore, and further on, across the Urya mountains to Bengal. It was certainly a very long and difficult journey, and yet he moved so rapidly that no one knew with certainty where he was. He made himself master of the whole of Bengal and intended to go on to Agra, but was opposed at Allahabad by Rustam Kandahari, who bored and sank all vessels in order to prevent him from crossing the river. On account of the broad and swift current of three famous rivers which meet there, the Ganges, the Jamna and (Saraswati) it was not possible for him to speedily cross over. In the meantime there arrived Sultan Parvez and Mahabat Khan from Burhanpur, who again put his magnificent army of 50,000 horse to flight. He lost 8000 men and the rest scattered. He lost, besides, all his tents, treasure, jewels, and some elephants, which fell into the hands of his brother. He fled with a very small number of men and travelling by the route by which he had come, reached the Deccan, again in a helpless condition. Having received fresh help from the Deccanese he set out without delay for Burhan Pur and besieged it for a long time and by his attacks and valient deeds reduced it to a condition of extreme distress. But luck was against him, for his brother Parvez and Mahabat Khan again arrived at Burhan Pur from Bengal and saved the town. Khurram suffered a heavy loss of men and had to quit the place. He returned to the Deccan took some rest and with the help of the Deccanese and the son of Raja Bhim gathered 7-7000 Rajput soldiers, and marching through the mountainous country of Raja Bhim reached Ajmir, where he stopped for a few days in the hope of enrolling a large number of Rajputs. He would have succeeded in this had not (the son of) Raja Bhim died suddenly of pain in the stomach, as his army was growing daily by the addition of those who out of love came to serve him. But when their chief died almost all Rajputs left him. His plans, then, to take Agra came to

nothing. He then resolved to seek his fortunes in the Province of Sind and Bhakkar and marching with 3-4000 men all that was left of his army reached Thatta and besieged the town for a long time. The governor fought a defensive war, telling him to leave the town which he was holding on behalf of the king, and offering to give him money if that was what he wanted. As mere words did not help him much he pressed the seige. There was a lack of water (in the town) as he had cut it off, and compelled by dire necessity the governor made a sally and put him to flight with a loss of 1000 men, among them being his general Darya Khan. They did not follow him up, but let him remain in the neighbourhood. Finally seeing that nothing was to be gained by it, he turned back, following a different route than that by which he had come, and which passes 3 coss north of Baharaich. He returned to the Deccan, his old rallying centre, with 3-4000 horse and remained there quietly until his great enemy, Mahabat Khan, was reconciled with him, and who had now brought him to Surat in the hope of a favourable issue.

I have referred to these hold-out unfortunate expeditions to show that if he had not been loved by the people, he would not have been permitted to rove about as he did. With the coming of the praiseworthy Mahabat Khan, whose brave deeds surpass those of all heroes of our time, the hopes of Khurram had risen. Mahabat Khan was regarded rather with awe and fear by most of the nobles than loved by them. This was not because he was cruel or of evil disposition, but because of his love for the King and his Empire. For he found that as soon as the King was rocked to sleep, the new foreign dissemblers began to work, and that they were determined to poison the King's mind by bringing false charges against him. The King loved him not as a servant, but like a father in times of difficulty, which indeed he had shown himself to be. Mahabat Khan's enemies in trying to bring about the fall of his power and his death were attempting to steer a difficult passage between two cliffs, but they were caught in their own trap when he had beaten them all, he dealt with them, in their judgment, somewhat harshly. But unprejudiced persons will say that he was much too merciful. Following the King's wishes, he did not act with that severity which was necessary in view of their offence, and to secure his own position.

Now that fickle fortune had turned against him and he had to fly, every one showed zeal in his pursuit. This was in obedience to the wishes of the Queen who wished to conquer him who had conquered her, and who smarted because she had not been able to do with him as she liked, to cool her lust with him.

Two things weighed with him; first his pride, although he well knew that he would gain no advantage for himself except by coming to an agreement with her, second, his regard for the King, who secretly was well disposed though, in the interests of peace in the Kingdom, he had to let his greatest friendship fall.

However, I may say that their courage, which is well known over a large part of the world, and which they have not yet lost, will prepare the way for Khurram. One might ask whether the Empire is so weak that it cannot force a poor Prince or a fugitive umra (amir) to submit. My answer is that in the existing circumstances, it was not possible for reasons explained above; again, so long as both Sultan Khurram and Sultan Parvez lived, the Queen had not the same powerful motive to act as now, for she could not ignore the fact that even if Sultan Khurram did not become King, Sultan Parvez could not be got out of the way. She was deprived of a hope which may now be realised. The curious reader may judge for himself how far the confusion in the Empire of Hindustan arises from this cause.

Although I wished to give the correct year and date of events (I have not been able to do so) on account of the carelessness of the Indian historian from whom I had to translate what occurred before my time. I hope that this will not cause any disinclination to read, but may be liked as a change of food. Farewell.

1. The fort of Agra was completed in 1572 and not in the year 1573.

2. Jahangir reckons the cost at Rs. 35,00,000. Pelsart's reckoning in takkas (double dains) is a mistake in calculation. His Rs. 25,00,000 should be five coror takkas instead of fifty thousand coror takkas. Five coror would be fifty thousand thousands, 5,00,00,000. Badayuni puts the cost at Rs. 50,00,000. It was completed in 980 A. H.

4. Here is a flagrant example of De Laet's failure to render Pelsert's Dutch text accurately. For 'the youngest brother of Bayazid Khan called Daud' De Laet has 'Douwet son of Baratghan', which is obviously wrong. Lethbridge who first brought the Latin Text to light preferred De Laet's wrong version to contemporary Persian chronicles and insisted that Daud must have been a son and not a brother of Bayazid Khan :

5. No other contemporary account even remotely suggests that Munim Khan asked Akbar to attack Bengal in person. Such a suggestion from a leader of an expedition would not have been favourably received by the emperor. As a matter of fact when Akbar set out for Bengal the siege of Patna had been in progress for some time. In order to hasten the eventual capture of Bengal Akbar set out for Patna to Munim Khan's help.

6. Akbar encountered no Pathan troops during his progress because Daud had already taken refuge in the fort of Patna. Pelsaert is here describing the events that had already taken place in Bihar before Akbar's march began. Mahibalipur is situated on the south near Rohtas in Bihar.

7. Akbar reached Patna on 16 Rabi-as-Sani and Daud fled on 21st Rabi-us-Sani. Daud thus defended the fort against Akbar for six days and not six months as in the text. The period of six months might represent the total time taken by the Mughals in capturing Patna. Akbar had set out for Patna on Rabi-ul-awal 1, but Munim Khan had started operations against Daud much earlier.

8. Patna was taken in 982 A. H. (1574). Daud died in 984 A. H. He was not killed by his own partisans on account of his conduct during the siege. He fell in the hands of the Mughals on July 12, 1577 somewhere near Akmohal after a hard fought battle between Khan-i-Jahan and Daud. Taken a prisoner he was executed by the Mughals. Khan-i-Jahan sent his head to Akbar.

9. Akbar did not stay long enough in Bengal to complete its final subjugation and occupation. He had left for Patna on Rabi-ul-Awal 1, 982 and set out on his return journey on Jamadi-ul-Awal 2, 982. Neither was Daud killed during Akbar's stay nor was the whole of Bengal conquered during these months.

10. Ranthambor was conquered in 1569 several years before the conquest of Bengal.

11. Akbar conquered Rohtas from the Pathans and not from a Hindu Raja. The story in the text is told about Sher Shah's capture of the fort.

12. Here is an interesting example of Pelsaert's historic sense. Baz Bahadur and Rupmati have been translated into "Rupmati who called herself Beder (Bahadur)". Two names have been misjoined together. Such a mistake would not have been possible in the page of a Persian chronicler writing about Akbar in Jahangir's reign. As I have said in the introduction it is impossible to hold with Smith that this account is based on a genuine Persian Chronicle.

13. He died on July 30, 1585.

14. A town and fortress on a mountain commanded by a rajah of the race of Bhagilaks and situated to the south-east of Allahabad near the Tonsa.

15. Bukhara in central Asia.
16. Cf. with above. These two passages illustrate Pelsaert's method of compiling his chronicle. In the earlier passage we learn *'that this time news was received that Abdulla Khan.....who had inherited the kingdom after his father's (Sikandar's) death.....'*. This presupposes Akbar's knowledge of Sikandar's death. In the passage now under comment we are told that *'a little time before the king had heard of the death of Sikandar Khan.* In the first passage we learn of the new uzbegs king's intended attack on India. In the second we are told about Akbar's mission of condolence sent on Sikandar's death. These two passages can be explained only by assuming that Pelsaert was using two different sources of information and used material from both without coordinating it.
17. The expedition to Kashmir was sent from Attock on the Indus in Muharram 995. The Amirs who brought Yusaf to the emperor were allowed to attend the royal court on Rabi-ul-Akbar 11,995.
18. Yusuf came to the Court in Ramazan 995. He was not captured but submitted voluntarily though only when he found his position hopeless.
19. Four years after the conquest of Kashmir in January 1590.
20. Jani Beg and Abdur Rahim came to the Court together and had imperial audience on March 28, 1593. The expedition thus took more than two years.
21. Faizi was the leader of this expedition. Abdur Rahim was busy at this time in Sind.
22. February 9, 1597. The battle was fought at Mandar.
23. Murad was already in the Deccan. Abdur Rahim's success had been gained when Abdur Rahim was serving as Murad's deputy.
24. On May 12, 1599. Murad did not die at Shahpur. He had left it on hearing of Abul Fazl's approach.
25. 'The accursed rana'. Rana Amar Singh of Udaipur is here referred to.
26. Firishta mentions Mirza Aziz Koka as the intermediary.
27. Situated on the Jumna, in the Itimadpur Tahsil of the Agra District.
28. Firishta and most other writers ascribe Chand Bibi's death to popular violence excited by her son's advice to surrender the fort to Akbar as it was not possible to defend it any longer.
29. No such coins are extant. No other writer mentions Salim's minting coins in his own name much less his sending them to Akbar. Sending the coins to Akbar would have been a needlessly provocative and foolish act.
30. Pelsaert is alone in this assertion. Abul Fazl could not have sent such a reply to Akbar which when known was sure to inflame the prince. Akbar did not as yet intend taking violent measures against Salim—he never did so. Even if Abul Fazl wanted to please Akbar, he would not have written in this manner. Jahangir accuses Abul Fazl only of making impossible his reconciliation with Akbar.
31. Abul Fazl died on August 12, 1602.

32 Danial died in 1604 if not in 1605. His death therefore could have hardly occurred 'a few days later' after Abul Fazl's death two years previously.

33 Other authorities make Salim submit to Akbar immediately after Mariam Makani's death in November 1604. Taking advantage of his grandmother's death, he came to pay a visit of condolence to his father in his bereavement.

34 Salim's imprisonment supports the version of the Persian chroniclers who make his visit voluntary. It is not in keeping with Akbar's known character that he should have imprisoned his son when he had invited him to visit him.

35 Persian authorities make Salim's confinement last 10 to 12 days.

36 The story of Akbar's swallowing a poisoned pill intended for some one else. (Mirza Ghazi in this account) is extremely improbable. Ghazi could not have made the remark attributed to him because he had not surrendered Thatta to Akbar. It was his father Mirza Jani who surrendered it to Akbar. The *Maasir-ul-Umra* attributes this remark to Mirza Jani who was present at the siege of Asir. This is probable and to it can be traced the origin of the story. Jani however died before Akbar's death. Several European writers of the seventeenth century ascribe Akbar's death to poison taken by mistake. They might be recording current rumours attempting to explain an illness which proved fatal.

37 Parvez had accompanied Khan-i-Jahan to the Deccan in 1018 (1609-10) A. H. Cf. Tuzak, 78, 79.

38 In the fifth year, 1018 A. H.

39 Jahangir reached Ajmer on November, 18, 1613.

40 Karn 'was not given these districts. They were retained by his father, the Rana.

41 Khan-i-Khanan was sent to the Deccan after the reverses suffered by the Mughals in 1611 and not Mahabat Khan. But at the time Pelsaert is speaking of Khurram was sent to the Deccan in 1616.

42 Jahangir arrived at Mandau on March 6, 1617 and remained there for about nine months leaving in December, 1617.

43 He reached Ahmedabad in January, 1613.

44 Abdulla Khan went to his Jagir in 1617 cf. Tuzak 197.

45 He left Ahmedabad in September, 1619.

46 Shah Beg Khan Dauran applied for retirement himself in the fourteenth year (1028 A. H.) of Tuzak 277. His petition for permission seems to have been received on Shaban 16, 1028 A. H. He was the Governor of Sindh or Qandahar. Bahadar Khan was at Qandahar since 1024 A. H. (1615).

47 The New Year's Day fell on Rabi-ul-Akhar 4, 1028 March, 21, 1619.

48 Cf. the account in Baharistan-i-Ghaibi as corrected in my notes (Bengal under Jahangir in the Journal of Indian History, Vol XIII, part III). The battle was fought not at Dacca but at Dilamba Pur in the mountains of Dacca. The battle was fought on March, 12, 1612.

49 Jahangir intended visiting Kashmir cf. Tuzak, 278. He did not visit Lahore on his onward journey.

50 This probably refers to Abdulla Khan's extermination of the power of Raja Ram Chand Bundela of Kalpi in 1606.

51 Khan-i-Alam was sent as an ambassador to Abbas not Khan-i-Azem. He must have been sent in 1026 A. H. He reported to Jahangir on his return at Kalanaur in the district of Gurdaspur. Zambal Baig came with him as the Persian King's representative.

52 In 1613, cf Baharistan-i-Ghaibi.

53 Qasim Khan was recalled in 1617, more than four years after his appointment. Cf Baharistan-i-Ghaibi.

54 Her brother.

55 Of the detailed account of the fight in the Baharistan.

56 The Maghs of Baharistan.

57 Murtaza Khan was sent to Kangra in the tenth year (1615).

58 Khurram was sent to the Deccan in the fifteenth year 1620.

59 In the fifteenth year.

60 He died on Safar 17, 1031. January (1, 1622).

61 Of the account in the English Factory in India, II, pp. 79 and 66.

62 In the seventeenth year (1622).

63 In 1623.

64 This is contradicted by what follows below. Neither the correspondence between Abbas and Jahangir nor any other original source supports Pelsaert here.

65 Of the account given by De Laet. The two differ radically.

66 This is improbable. Asaf Khan, though he was Shah Jahan's father-in-law, remained loyal to Jahangir. Had he planned to join Khurram openly in this way, he would not have been deterred by the failure of Khurram's attempt and would have gone over to his side later on.

67 Bikramjit was in Gujarat at the time of Khusrav died.

68 Pelsaert uses the term governor to describe the Mughal Officials at Baroda, Cambay and Broach. This would be correct if the provincial governor were designed viceroy as many European travellers call the Mughal Subadar of Gujarat. The indiscriminate use of the term governor by certain European writers led the late Mr. Moreland to question the validity of the existence of provincial government under the Mughals. He failed to notice the mental confusion of the European writers who had to deal in India with provinces several times some of the contemporary European kingdoms and who had to describe the Mughal Public Servants some of them maintaining a better court than some of the contemporary kings in Europe.

69 Khurram needed no such excuse. He had been asked to leave the Deccan in order to assume the command of the expedition to Qandahar.

70 This disproves the suggestion made above that Asaf Khan was in league with Khurram.

71 Cf Maasir-i Jahangiri which refers to Mahabat Khan's promising pardon to Shah Jahan if he retreated to the Deccan.

72 Cf the account in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*.

73 Jahangir had foreseen this move and made arrangements to meet Shah Jahan's irruption in Bengal. Cf. *Tuzak*, 281; *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, Ms. f 78^a; *Amal-i-Salah*, I, 167-68.

74 Nephew not cousin.

75 For details, cf *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*.

76 At Allahabad.

77 The fight between Ibrahim Khan and Khurram took place before the capture of Patna

78 *Iqbal Nama* estimates the plunder at Rs. 40,00,000 cash besides other articles.

79 Narain Mal according to the *Baharistan Ghaibi*.

80 Cf. *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*. Khurram did not go to Rohtas himself. He sent a representative to whom the fort was surrendered.

81 The battle was fought on October 16, 1624.

82 Mutamid Khan states that his train was looted by his followers.

83 Shah Jahan left Raj Mahal on January, 22, 1625.

84 In 1625.

85 Here is a characteristic reminder of Pelsaert's method of dealing with his Persian original. To a Muslim writer Islam was 'our' religion. Pelsaert translates the phrase into Dutch straight from Persian.

86 Here is again a reminder that the greater portion of the chronicle was compiled while Jahangir was alive.

87 Mahabat Khan marched to Lahore in 1625 A. D.

88 The Jhelum.

89 Mutamid Khan was present with the king on this occasion. He gives an eye witness's account of the struggle. He does not mention any battle before the capture

of Jahangir. Pelsaert has ante-dated this battle. He is in reality describing the battle which took place on March 20, 1626 when the imperial army under the lead of Nur Jahan made an attack on Mahabat Khan's position in order to release Jahangir.

90 Jahangir was not sleeping, Mahabat Khan opened the curtains of the Palki in which Jahangir had taken his seat. Cf. Mutamid Khan.

91 Master of the Elephants. He came when Jahangir was being taken out in a procession on an elephant by Mahabat Khan.

92 Mahabat Khan failed to prevent Nur Jahan's flight across the river. She surrendered to Mahabat Khan voluntarily several days afterwards.

93 On May 18, 1626.

94 Jahangir left Kabul on Shahryar 1, 1036. The quarrel with the Ahadis took place at Kabul before the royal departure.

95 In the modern district of Hoshiarpur in the Punjab.

*96 Jahangir was released before he had returned to Lahore. He had not yet reached Rohtas.

97 Muhasib Khan could not have been a Rajput.

98 In October 28, 1626.

99 Probably the Raja of Jaisalmer is meant.

100 On October 28, 1627. He was fifty-eight then.

PRICE CHANGES AND PRICE CONTROL IN INDIA DURING THE LAST TWO HUNDRED YEARS.

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In the present state of high prices of commodities in India and in view of their control by the Government in recent years, an enquiry into price changes and price control in the country during the last two hundred years may be of some interest to the students of Indian economics. It is worth while to observe at the outset that price control in India is not exactly a present day innovation or a thing of the recent past. It may also be said that external factors had an influence on price changes in this country at least as early as the days of the French Revolutionary War. An attempt has been made here to trace briefly the history of these in the light of materials found among the unpublished records of the Government of India, the Bengal Government and the District Judges' Court at Patna supplemented by some other sources like newspapers, journals, published works and Government reports.

We learn from the Fort William Revenue Consultations of the 11th December, 1752, that in the year 1738 rice sold in Bengal at $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 maunds per rupee and that the price of raw cotton in the province in that year was 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ Rs. a maund. But by 1851 the prices of principal commodities rose by about 30 per cent¹, which is to be ascribed to the ravages of the Maratha raiders, the imposition of heavy duties on the gross sales of the articles of prime necessity, and the rains of April, 1751, causing a great famine, the like of which had not been known 'for sixty years past'.² In consideration of the great distress resulting from the dearness of certain foodstuffs in Calcutta, the Government fixed the price of coarse rice for the

¹ Vide K. K. Dutta, *Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah*, Vol. I, p. 464.

² *Ibid.* pp. 466-467.

November season of 1751 at 1 maund and 10 seers a rupee³. And the zamindar was accordingly directed to give public notice in all the market places that no person should exact higher prices "than those specified under a severe penalty"⁴. This is a clear instance of price control by the Government in the city of Calcutta.

From 1753-54 there was a gradual rise of prices in Bengal, which continued down to 1792-93 subject of course to occasional fluctuations due to special circumstances. This will be evident from the following tabular statement⁵ of the prices of principal foodstuffs in Calcutta during the fifty years from 1753-54.

Average per annum.	Coarse rice per rupee.	Oil per rupee.	Ghee per rupee.	Gur per rupee.
Years.	Mds. srs. chs.	Mds. srs. chs.	Mds. srs. chs.	Mds. srs. chs.
1753-1763 ..	1 6 12	0 10 2	0 3 8	0 17 0
1763-1773 ..	0 36 4	0 7 0	0 3 2	0 15 8
1773-1783 ..	0 36 1	0 6 6	0 2 13	0 16 3
1783-1793 ..	0 31 11	0 6 10	0 2 15	0 15 6
1793-94 ..	0 36 0	0 5 8	0 3 4	0 16 0
1794-95 ..	1 0 0	0 6 8	0 2 8	0 14 0
1795-96 ..	0 39 0	0 5 0	0 2 8	0 14 0
1796-97 ..	1 2 0	0 6 0	0 2 4	0 13 0
1797-98 ..	0 35 0	0 5 12	0 2 12	0 14 0
1798-99 ..	0 36 0	0 5 0	0 2 0	0 13 0
1799-1800 ..	0 32 0	0 5 8	0 2 8	0 13 0
1800-1801 ..	0 37 0	0 6 8	0 2 4	0 13 0
1801-02 ..	0 35 0	0 7 0	0 2 0	0 12 0
1802-03 ..	0 37 8	0 3 6	0 2 4	0 13 0
1793-1803 ..	0 36 15	0 5 9	0 2 6	0 13 8

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 467.

⁵ The statement appears in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. xii (1818), pp. 567-68.

According to the foregoing table, the average price of rice and oil during 1763-73 shows a considerable increase over that of the preceding ten years; and this may be explained by the great famine of 1770. During the famine year the prices of certain foodstuffs shot up very high, and the effects of the famine on prices continued to be felt for several years, so that there was no improvement in the situation of rice and oil even for sometime after 1773. By 1776 there was a slight improvement in the rice situation and we learn from the Fort William Revenue Consultations of the 29th November of that year that coarse rice sold in Calcutta at 32 seers to 1 maund per rupee⁶. The prices of wheat, oil and ghee were then $33\frac{1}{2}$, $6\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ seers a rupee respectively.⁷ But after 1783 the prices again showed an upward trend, and the average of the next ten years was considerably higher than that of the preceding decade. This is to be partly accounted for by the visitation of another great famine in Bengal in 1788.⁸ The situation improved after 1793 and the three years ending 1796-97 were the cheapest as far as rice was concerned. The explanation is to be found in the acute shortage of silver in the Bengal Presidency during these years, which raised the value of the rupee in relation to gold. The large importation of silver bullion from 1798¹⁰ once again led to a rise in prices, as may be seen from the above figures.

For the period 1803-04 to 1812-13 we give below two tables¹¹ showing the prices of foodstuffs in Calcutta and in the mofusail from year to year.

6 K. K. Datta, *op. cit.*, p. 473.

7 *Ibid.*

8 For short account of the famine, see J. C. Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal*, p. 100-104.

9 Home Dept. Pub. Cons., April 27, 1795, No. 3, and Jan. 1800 No. 50. (Imperial Record Dept.) Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons. March 27, 1794, and July 8, 1794.

10 Letter from Reporter of External Commerce, Bengal, to Board of Trade. Calcutta, Aug. 13, 1798; Seton-Karr, *Selections from Calcutta Gazettes*, Vol. III, p. 254.

11 These tables are taken from the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XII, pp. 567-68 and 573.

In Calcutta.

Average per annum.	Coarse rice per rupee.	Oil per rupee.	Ghee per rupee.	Gur per rupee.
Years.	Mds. srs. chs.	Mds. srs. chs.	Mds. srs. chs.	Mds. srs. chs.
1803-04	.. 0 35 0	0 5 0	0 2 0	0 13 0
1804-05	.. 0 30 0	0 8 0	0 2 4	0 13 4
1805-06	.. 0 35 0	0 7 0	0 2 12	0 14 0
1806-07	.. 0 37 0	0 5 8	0 2 10	0 13 0
1807-08	.. 0 25 0	0 4 12	0 2 0	0 14 0
1808-09	.. 0 35 0	0 4 8	0 2 2	0 14 0
1809-10	.. 1 3 0	0 5 4	0 2 0	0 15 0
1810-11	.. 0 30 0	0 4 12	0 2 0	0 13 0
1811-12	.. 1 4 0	0 5 0	0 2 0	0 13 0
1812-13	.. 0 31 0	0 5 12	0 2 0	0 13 0

At Surul.¹²

Average per annum.	Coarse rice per rupee.	Oil per rupee.	Ghee per rupee.	Gur per rupee.
Years	Mds. srs. chs.	Mds. srs. chs.	Mds. srs. chs.	Mds. srs. chs.
1803-04	.. 1 21 9	0 7 11	0 4 0	0 16 4
1804-05	.. 1 17 2	0 13 4	0 4 0	0 17 0
1805-06	.. 1 38 14	0 15 0	0 4 8	0 12 12
1806-07	.. 1 33 14	0 14 0	0 4 0	0 12 12
1807-08	.. 0 36 15	0 14 0	0 4 0	0 16 0
1808-09	.. 1 17 2	0 12 0	0 3 8	0 21 4
1809-10	.. 1 13 2	0 13 0	0 3 8	0 11 4
1810-11	.. 1 7 0	0 15 0	0 4 0	0 8 0
1811-12	.. 1 9 4	0 16 0	0 4 4	0 20 0
1812-13	.. 1 18 2	0 15 0	0 4 0	0 15 0

¹² A large and prosperous village in the neighbourhood of Santiniketan in Birbhum.

It is noticeable that the Calcutta prices of foodstuffs during 1803-4 to 1812-13 do not show any marked variation from those of the previous ten years. What is more striking, the mofussil prices were cheaper than those of Calcutta, sometimes by about 100%. But this is not to be wondered at in view of the greater demand for commodities in the city and the higher purchasing power of its population. It is also to be noticed that 1807-08 was the dearest year throughout Bengal probably on account of crop failure.

During the period 1793-1813 the prices of sugar and certain other articles were affected by the influence of external factors. The Revolutionary War in the Netherlands, for instance, checked the spirit of adventure to Ostend, which was the highest purchaser of Bengal Sugar after Great Britain and thereby lowered the price of sugar in Calcutta in 1793.¹³ The situation did not improve in 1794,¹⁴ and at the beginning of the last century the depressed state of the sugar market in Great Britain brought about a further downward movement of sugar prices in Bengal.¹⁵ The Revolutionary War also led to a diminution in the price of silk piece-goods by reducing the demand for the article on the continent of Europe.¹⁶ On the other hand, the rigid enforcement of the Continental System by Napoleon stopped the customary importation of Italian raw silk into England and increased the demand for Bengal silk at the British market.¹⁷ This naturally led to a rise in the price of raw silk in Bengal. Between 1793 and 1803 the price of cotton goods also rose, owing to its great demand from private traders,¹⁸ whose number increased in consequence of the partial opening of the East India Trade to private enterprise by the Charter Act of 1793.¹⁹

¹³ Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons. No. 25, 1793.

¹⁴ Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons. April 14, 1794.

¹⁵ Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons. April 15, 1803.

¹⁶ Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons. Dec 25, 1793.

¹⁷ Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., Sept 2, 1808.

¹⁸ Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., April 10, 1794, July 22, 1794,

Aug 12, 1794, and Nov 11, 1800, to ascertain the price of raw silk.

¹⁹ See in this connection my article on the Charter Act of 1793 in the *Calcutta Review*, Nov. 1939, pp.

It should be noted, however, that no increase in the price of fabrics was allowed by the English Company. Ever since the Battle of Plassey (1757), they had generally obtained their supply of piece-goods by contracts with the weavers direct or with middlemen. The same system on the whole continued after 1793. The prices were fixed beforehand without regard to market conditions at the time of the delivery of the cloths; and those were usually much lower than what was paid by the other European trading nations or the private traders. Theoretically, no doubt, the weavers were free in the matter of accepting advances.²⁰ But there was a wide gap between theory and practice. The Company did not scruple to force advances on the manufacturers, who were generally reluctant to supply their orders.²¹ The same system was generally at work for the supply of other articles of investment. And in effect it operated as a control on the price of these stuffs, a control that was exercised not in the interest of the public but in the mercantile interest of the Government.

Between 1813 and 1833 the prices of the necessities of life, for various reasons, showed a remarkable increase. The cessation of the Napoleonic war in 1814-15 encouraged larger exports of Indian commodities to foreign countries than before. Then also, the abolition of the Company's trading monopoly by the Charter Act of 1813 induced speculations on the part of the private traders to an unprecedented degree.²² Consequently the price of indigo, opium, raw cotton, sugar and even grain rose considerably. Further, from 1816-17 money became exceedingly plentiful in Bengal,²³ thereby diminishing the value of the rupee. Thus in 1819 the Calcutta price of rice ranged between 1 rupee and 11 annas to 2 rs. and 12 as. per maund.²⁴ But outside Calcutta the prices were much cheaper and the best sort of rice at Patna in 1820 sold at two rupees a maund.²⁵ The enhancement of price was

²⁰ Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., Jan. 7, 1799.

²¹ Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., June 21, 1796 and June 7, 1799.

²² H. H. Wilson, *A Review of the External Commerce of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1830) p. 53.

²³ For the causes of the increase of money, see H. H. Wilson, *op. cit.* pp. 19-20.

²⁴ B. N. Benerji, *Sambadpatre Sakaler Katha*, Vol. 111, p. 62.

²⁵ Letter to W. H. Tippet, Magistrate of Patna, Nov. 24, 1820.

especially marked in the case of commodities that had a large foreign demand. Thus the price of opium at the Calcutta sales in 1822-23 shot up to 4,000 rs. per chest of approximately two maunds²⁶. Thus again the price of indigo, which in the first decade of the nineteenth century had varied between 110 and 150 rupees per maund,²⁷ rose as high as 280 rupees a maund in 1826-27²⁸. As a sequel to high prices, the wages of labour naturally went up rapidly during these years²⁹.

After 1833 the prices did not on the whole increase further for some years. On the contrary, the price of rice somewhat fell off, its value in 1839-40 being even less than one rupee and a half per maund in Bengal³⁰. The price of wheat in that year was about one rupee and eleven annas a maund³¹. The chief reason why prices fell instead of rising is to be found in the reaction following the preceding boom. As for indigo, its price showed marked fluctuations from year to year³². The value of 95,861 maunds of indigo in 1837-38 was 1,12,47,681 rupees while that of 1,19,842 maunds in 1839-40 was 2,38,18,553 rupees³³. The explanation lies in the extreme uncertainty of the indigo crop. Down to 1860 there was no very notable advance in the general prices of commodities, except in the case of certain raw materials like cotton and silk, which had great demand outside.

²⁶ Prinsep, *History of the Political and Military Transactions in India* (1825), Vol II, p. 426.

²⁷ Beng. Board of Trade (Indigo) Proceedings, Sept. 20, 1811, and March 6, 1812.

²⁸ H. H. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Wilkinson, *Commercial Annual* (1838-39 and 1839-40), p. 29.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Wilkinson, *A Comparative View of the External Commerce of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1834), p. 25.

³³ Wilkinson, *Commercial Annual*, p. 28.

But from 1861 the prices definitely rose up. The American Civil War increased the demand for Indian Cotton in England and the resulting high prices caused a great influx of specie into this country, thereby raising the prices of commodities still further. After 1866, however, they again showed a downward trend.³⁵ As a matter of fact, except for a sudden jump in the prices of food-stuffs during 1876-79 due to famine conditions, the whole period from 1867-1883 may be regarded as an era of falling prices—a phenomenon which is to be partly accounted for by the shrinkage in the coinage of silver.³⁶ Then commenced a period of rising prices which continued right up to 1920, except for the years 1893-99.³⁷ The increase of prices became particularly marked from 1905³⁸, and the continued high prices led the Government of India to appoint a committee to enquire into their causes. The Committee, which submitted its report in 1914, ascribed the rising tendency of prices partly to the general rise of prices throughout the world and partly to several causes peculiar to India, such as shortage in the supply of agricultural products, increase in demand for commodities, development of railways and lowering of transport cost, increase in the value of circulating medium, etc.³⁹ But the main cause of the continued higher movement of prices, as has been pointed out by some Indian Economists, was the inflation of currency in the country.⁴⁰

The pre-war rising tendency of prices reached an unprecedented height during 1914-20 owing to war conditions. The average price of rice per maund rose from 5 rupees 3 annas and 9 pies in 1913 to

34 Jather and Beri, *Indian Economics*. (1931), Vol II, p. 395.

35 *Ibid.*

36 *Ibid*

37 *Ibid* P. 396; *Ind. Journal of Economics*, Vol. XXI, P. 566.

38 K. L. Dutta *Report on the Enquiry into the Rise of Prices in India* 1915 P. 46

39 *Ibid*. P. 51.

40 Jather and Beri, *Op. cit.* Vol. II pp. 402-03.

8 rupees and 6 annas in 1920.⁴¹ The increase was greater in the case of wheat, and still higher in the case of salt and cotton goods.⁴² The falling off in the production, "the intense competitive" demand of the belligerent countries for commodities of all kinds, and the creation of a huge volume of credit and currency, were mainly responsible for the spectacular increase of prices during these years⁴³

From 1921 onwards the prices began to fall off under the pressure of several internal and external factors such as, currency deflation, increased importation of foreign goods, reduced exports, and gradual return of normal conditions throughout the world.⁴⁴ then came the world wide economic depression of 1929-30, which hastened the downward movement of prices, beyond all expectations. The fall of prices was general, but it was particularly precipitate in the case of raw materials.⁴⁵ Between 1933 and 1937 there was a partial recovery, which was followed by a period of recession lasting for about two years.⁴⁶ The agriculturists were the class most hard hit by the phenomenal decrease of prices during the depression years; but the wages of labourers, too, experienced a considerable fall,

It is idle to speculate how long this state of things would have continued if the Second World War had not come about in September, 1939. With the outbreak of war, prices began to show an upward trend⁴⁷; but no spectacular increase in prices occurred before 1942 despite the heavy circulation of rupee notes during 1939-41.⁴⁸ Japan's entry into the War in December, 1941, however, created a peculiarly complex situation. The need of producing war materials on

41 *Ibid.* P. 406.

42 *Ibid.*

43 *Ibid.* P. 407, Vera Anstey, *The Economic Development of India* (1929) P. 52.

44 Jather and Beri, *op. cit.*, Vol II, P. 408.

45 *Ind. Journal of Economics*, Vol. XXI, P. 796.

46 *Ibid.* pp. 748-53.

47 *Ibid.* pp. 761-62.

48 See in this connection B. T. Ranadive, *India's Sterling Balances* (Bombay, 1945), p. 9

an increasing scale led to an exorbitant rise of prices,⁴⁹ first because high prices were paid for these, and secondly because it reduced the volume of production for other purposes.⁵⁰ Then came the terribly large circulation of paper money issued by the Government to cover war expenses. The reduction of imports and the malpractices of the hoarders made confusion worse confounded.⁵¹ The situation became all the more menacing in Bengal, where the scarcity of rice in 1942-43 raised its price ten times its pre-war rate.⁵² The result was the terrible Bengal famine of 1943, which carried away three and a half millions of people. During the famine year the maximum price of rice in some parts of East Bengal exceeded 100 rupees a maund. During these years, the Government, no doubt, put a control on the prices of principal commodities. In less than a week after the declaration of war the Government of India empowered the Provincial Governments to control the prices of certain necessities,⁵³ which were followed by other orders conferring new powers on them.⁵⁴ Meanwhile several Price Control Conferences were held between 1939 and 1943.⁵⁵ But in view of the terrific currency inflation and the appalling increase of hoarding and black-marketing, the price control orders proved ineffective for the most part. While Bengal partially recovered from the effects of famine in 1944, on the whole, the prices continued equally high throughout India in that year, and in some cases even showed an increase.

In 1945 the prices showed a tendency to come down. The establishment of peace naturally reduced the prices of food-stuffs and

49 For the index number of prices during 1939-44, See B. T. Ranadive, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

51 Vakil, Anjaria and Lakdawala, *Price Control and Food supply* (1943) pp. 3-4.

52 B. T. Ranadive, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

53 Vakil, Anjaria and Lakdawala, *op. cit.* p. 11.

54 *Ibid.*, pp. 12 and 15.

55 *Ibid.*, pp. 13-20.

certain other commodities. But normal conditions are yet to come. The control prices of rice and wheat in Calcutta in December, 1945, were Rs. 10-7-0 and Rs. 11-12-0 a maund respectively.⁵⁶ But the actual price of rice in some places were still twenty rupees a maund.⁵⁷ In view of the large paper money in circulation and the difficulties of restoring at once the former volume of production in the case of manufactured goods and of increasing appreciably the importation of goods from outside, it will take sometime for the prices to adjust themselves.

56 *The Eastern Economist*, Dec, 21, 1945, p. 938.

57 The retail prices were even higher.

PURUSHOTTAMA GAJAPATI

By P. MUKHERJEE

Mr. G. Ramdas, M. L. A. has thrown much new light on the history of Purushottama Gajapati. For this the students of Orissan History should remain grateful to this erudite scholar. Mr. Ramadas has criticised some of the conclusions of my article entitled "Historicity of the Kāñchi-Kāverī Tradition" (Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. XXI, No. 1) in his paper. I propose to give reply to his objections.

The subject matters for discussion are stated in the following order:—(1) Kapilendra. (2) The accession of Purushottama. (3) The parentage of Purushottama. (4) Unreliability of the *Mādalā Pāñjī*. (5) Sons of Kapilendra. (6) Career of Hamvira Ray. (7) Historicity of the Kāñchi-kāverī Tradition.

KAPILENDRA.

1. P. 24. "Did Kapileśvara even mention anywhere the name of his father?" In the Veligalani (Veligatali ?) C. P. (No. 17 of 1935) it is stated that Kapilendra or Kapileśvara established Yajñeśvarpur Śāsana in the name of his father. (*Sva Pitṛākhyāyam*). Mr. Ramadas mentions this fact in P. 50.

2. P. 180 Fn. (J. B. R. S. Vol. XXXI, Pt. I)—"M.M. Chakravarti reads it, 'Mallika parisa-diga-kori' and translated it, 'Having conquered the side of Mallika parisa'—'Mallika-Parisada-Ga (d) must have been the correct reading'. I now find that M. M. Chakravarti has read the line—"*Mālikā parisā diga vijekarī*". *Digavije* means *Digvijaya*. So M. M. Chakravarti's translation is not correct. Similarly the interpretation of Mr. Ramadas is inadmissible. I propose to translate the line as follows:—"Having conquered *Mālikā ādishah*."

3. P. 22. Death of Kapilendra—Mr. Ramadas relies upon the statement of the *Mādala pañjī* (henceforward named as the M. P.) on the ground that it records the lunar month and *tithi* for the *Srāddha* day, so that “the ceremony might be punctually performed”—by his son Purushottama. Apart from the disputed fact of the eligibility of Purushottama for the performance of the *Srāddha* ceremony it is yet to be proved that the Jagannāth temple Chronicle served the purpose of an Almanac. In one version of the M. P. it is stated that Purushottama Gajapati ruled for thirty years and one month. The other versions say that he ruled for twenty-five years. Will it be possible to deduce the date of Purushottama's *Srāddha* ceremony from these statements?

Mr. Ramadas suggests that the dying king entrusted the jewels intended for Jagannāth to his officers. In his opinion Kapilendra died on November 25 1466. The date of his last Jagannāth Temple inscription is December 14, 1466. So the death of the king became known at Puri 19 days after the event. From this view we record our complete dissent. It is definitely stated in the inscription that Kapilendra made the gifts after worshipping the god. (कपिलेश्वर रजाए सेवा करि देले ।) The officers, mentioned above, did not carry the jewels to Puri. They brought a supply of gold. (सुना योगाढ़ ।)

THE PARENTAGE OF PURUSHOTTAMA.

We have already stated that Purushottama's mother was not necessarily a mistress of Kapilendra; though in the popular tradition, Purushottama is called *dasī-putra*. In the *Rāja-Vamśavalī* of the Bamandā State, Purushottama is called *Bhoginī-nandana*. Perhaps his mother Pārvatī was a *Phul-Bibāhī* wife. Sons born of *Phul-Bibāhī* (a form of *Gandharva* union) has some status. They had frequently succeeded their fathers to the thrones. (*)

4. P. 22. Jagannātha—*Vara-Prasāda*—Mr. Ramadas has criticised my statement that this expression supports the popular tradition. In his opinion the compound means only that Purushottama was begotten by the blessing of Purushottama (Jagannāth) but nothing

* See answer to the question No. XII—“Twenty-five questions addressed to the Rajas and chiefs of the Regulation and Tributary Mahals.—1814 A. D.

else- My inference is that the expression simply implies that Purushottama was favoured by Jagannāth.

5. P. 22—"Pratapa Rudra Gajapati in one epigraph was styled 'Durgā *Vara-putra*.' Are we to understand from it that he was illegitimate"? When a person is said to be the *vara-putra* of Lakshmi or Saraswati, 'are we to understand from it that he is illegitimate', or that he is begotten by his parents 'by propitiating the goddesses indicated by those names,'? Such expressions should not be interpreted in their literal senses.

UNRELIABILITY OF THE MADALA PANJI.

6. Pp. 13 & 35—Mr. Ramadas has quoted the opinion of Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XVIII. Pt. I. pp. 13-14] to prove that the statements of the M. P. (which I cited to prove that Kapilendra conferred the empire on Purushottama in preference to other sons and that Purushottama invaded Kāñchī) are unreliable. But he has not quoted the following sentence from p. 14.—"But with the accession of Kapilendra we are on firmer historical ground"

We admit that the M. P. was probably compiled in the time of Raja Rāmachandra of Khurda towards the end of the 16th century. But this is no cogent reason to reject the evidences of the M. P. with regard to the Sūryavamśi Gajapati kings of Orissa who flourished in the 15th and 16th centuries; unless, we have got sufficient grounds for rejection or a statement is *prima facie* absurd, such as, Kapilendra took Udayagiri and Chandragiri and captured the king Virūpāksha, in the 23rd *an̄ka*.

THE SONS OF KAPILENDRA.

7. P. 23.—The *Bhuvaneśvari Stotram*—"M. M. H. P. Sastri has discovered four of the productions of Purushottama's poetry but in not even one of them is noticed the statement which Mr. Mukherjee makes so much of." Mr. Ramadas wants us to believe that no other composition of Purushottama can possibly exist, except those which were noticed by M. M. H. P. Sastri in his descriptive Catalogues, more than quarter of a century ago.

Prof. Karunakara Misra of the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, had published a drama composed by Purushottama (कपिलेन्द्र तनयेन . गजपति श्री पुरुषोत्तम देवेन महारानेन विरचिते) entitled *Abhinava Beni Samharanam*, in now defunct Prāchi magazine of Cuttack.

Prof. Lingaraj Misra of the Ravenshaw College gave me information regarding the Ms *Bhuvaneśvarī Stotram*. By obvious straining, Mr. Ramadas read "Kapilendra (*eka*) *mātra nandanohām*". We are not prepared to admit that the word अनुग्रह in the context expresses Purushottama's gratitude to his father for securing an empire for him to inherit (by his birth-right according to Mr. Ramdas).

8. P. 33 'fn—"Hammira Raya is taken to mean 'a son'. Where is the authority"? Mr. Ramadas has not seen the notes on the M. P. in the Types of Ancient Oriya Prose & Poetry, edited by Rai Bahadur A. B. Mohanty. If Mr. Ramadas carefully studies the original passage he will find that no other interpretation is possible. Hammira Rāyas, evidently a mistake in the M. P., denote the sons of Kapilendra born to his lawful queen or queens. Hammira Ray was the eldest son of Kapilendra, and naturally he objected to the accession of Purushottama.

Mr. Ramadas suggests that Kapilendra wanted to ordain one of the warriors or chiefs with the rulership of the country. But Purushottama, his only son, obtained the throne because of the dispensation of Jagannāth. Such an assumption goes a little too far.

The M. P. mentions a son of Kapilendra of the name of Madhusudan Ray. Tirumala Rāutarāya was the paternal uncle (*Chinkappa* or *Pind-tandri*) of Pratāpa Rudra. (The Nellore District Inscriptions, Vol. III Udayagiri Nos. 37, 40. 41).

HAMVIRA RAY.

9. P. 24—Hamvira *Maharipu*—"The learned scholar imagines that the great foe Hammira, said in a verse of *Sarasvatī-Vilāsam* to have been vanquished by Prushottama Deva as the same as the one that is treated as 'myth' by R. D. Banerjee."

P. 25.—“Hammira Raya cannot be identified with this foe ; if at all there existed a person ‘Hammira Rai’ by name, he would have been treated as a rebel and traitor to this country and deserved not to be mentioned on par with Sāluva Narasimha of the south.”

Mr. Ramadas next proceeds to identify Hammira the great foe. He suggests that this Hammira might be a king of the Chauhāna dynasty of *Dakhshina* Kośala, “who established themselves at Patna (Balangir)”. In his opinion, a ruler of South Kośala, at the time of Purushottama, might have been called Hammira for his valour. Mr. Ramadas has traced a few Hammiras, and writes as follows:—

P. 27.—“The Hammira *mahāriṣu* might be the ruler of the Chauhāna territory.”

P. 32.—“Perhaps Hammira *Mahāriṣu* might be taken to refer to the submission of (Nizam-ul-mulk) Bahri who had become an ‘*Amir*’ by the investment of a new robe by the sultan before he was despatched against Telingana.”

P. 33. fn.—“It is no wonder if it (Hammira) became significant epithet for any warrior”.

Let us examine the truths of these conjectures. In the dynastic list of the Chauhāna kings of South Kośala, we find one Hammira Deo. This king ruled only for four years, and died without any significant achievement. The invasion of Kālāpāhar took place in the reign of his son Hridaya Nārāyana Deo. The *Tārīkh-i-Ferīshṭa* and *Burhān-i-Ma’sir* agree in stating the fact that Nizam-ul-mulk Bahri took Rajahmundry and Koṇḍavidu (Briggs reads Koṇḍapalli, which is a mistake.) Curiously enough, Mr. Ramadas suggests by his interpretation of the *Burhān’s* statement that Bahri might have been compelled to submit and retire to his Sultan. Thus this victorious Muslim general has been made to submit and identified with Hammira *mahāriṣu*.

10. P. 25. Hammira Raya.—“On this analogy it may be argued that Hammira Raya might have been a progeny of some ancient Gandharva marriage.” “On this analogy it may be argued that Puru-

shottama Ray ("Jagannāth urged in dream that Purushottama Ray should succeed to the throne"—The M. P.) and Virabhadra Ray ("Pratāpa Rudra Gajapati *kumārūṇḍu Virabhadra Rayinint*"—The Ins. No. 272 of 1897) and Rāmānanda Ray might have been progeny of some ancient 'Gandharva marriage.'

Having indicated that his arguments are not altogether convincing it remains to justify our conclusions, with regard to Hamvira's identification.

(A). The Warrangal Fort inscription.—We have already quoted the relevant passage.

(B). The ins. No. 148 of 1913—Kumāra Ambadeva, son of Kapileśvara Gajapati, ratified his father's grant to the gods Pāpavināśa and Rudrapadeva at Bezwada, for daily *aṅga raṅga-baibhava* and *dhūpa, dvīpa, naivedya*. Mr. Ramdas misreads the name of the donor as Kapileśvara Mahārāja, son of Ambidevarāja. (P. 50) Hamvira confirmed the grant of Kapilendra to these gods, dated S. 1387. (The ins. No. 308 of 1892).

(C) The ins. No. 157 of 1913—Kumāra Hamvira distributed the village of Yenekepadu among the servants of the Rājanārāyaṇa temple at Bezwada, with the enjoyment of 8 conditions of proprietorship. (*Aṣṭa bhoga teja svāmya*.)

(D) The ins. No. 156 of 1913—Purushottama is styled as '*pahara* Hamvira, *Pahara*-to keep watch.

(E) The inss. Nos. 51 & 91 of 1919.—Kapileśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra, the son of Ambiradeva, made a gift of land for repairs to the temple of Perumala Purushottama (*) and another temple. The

* In P. 50 Mr. Ramdas suggests that the name Perumala was outlandish for the Tamil country. 'It is the name of God Jagannātha of Puri, the national deity of Orissa. After the country had been subdued and settled under the Gajapati rule, this temple might have been constructed for the Oriya settlers to adore.' The *Oḍḍiyan Galabhai* took place 8 or 10 years before October 1470; or 1471-72, the date of the epigraph at Jambai, No. 93 of 1906, which Mr. Ramadas has not mentioned. In 1462 or 63 Kapilendra overran the northern Tamil districts. It is not possible to believe that the temple of Perumala Purushottama was constructed in 1462 A. D. and had to be repaired in 1464 A. D.

probability is that he was named after the grandfather, an old custom. One of the sons of Pratāpa Rudra was named Purushottama.

Mr. Ramadas may point out that the Rājanārāyana Temple grant does not mention Hamvīra was the son of Kapilendra; that Kapileśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra was the son of "the trusted general" of Kapilendra; and that the expression "Paharā Hamvira" carries no significance.

We admit that proofs C. D. & E. are not sufficient to support a definite verdict on the matter. But taken with A & B they go to show that Kumāra Hamvīra was the son of Kapilendra.

Now to the literary evidences. According to the M. P. Hamvīra left his ancestral kingdom to seek his fortune elsewhere. It does not tell us how and where he spent his time in exile. We are to depend on the Muslim chronicles, though Mr. Ramadas entirely disbelieves them. (P. 39) Ferishta writes that Ambur Ray sought the assistance of Muhammad III Bahamani. (who ascended the throne in 1470 A. D.). He complained that the Ray of Orissa being dead, Mongul Ray a Brahmin, the adopted son of the Ray "had usurped the government in defiance of his prior claim to inheritance." Muhammad agreed to help him as he wanted "to possess the territory including Rajahmundry and Condapalle." Nizam-ul-Mulk was sent with a large contingent. Ambur Ray became the guide of his army against Mongul Ray. The usurper was defeated and Ambur Ray was placed in possession of "his hereditary dominions." Nizam-ul-Mulk took Rajahmundry and Condapalle. This is Briggs' translation which is defective, as we will subsequently point out. Moreover, Mongul Ray was not a name of Purushottama nor he was a Brahmin.

A rebellion took place in Telingana against the authority of Muhammad III about 1475 A. D. We will now quote again from the Muslim chronicles.

(A) *Tārīkh-i-Ferishta*—Trans. by Briggs., Vol. II p. 495.

The garrison at Condapalle revolted and murdered the governor. "They made over the fort to Bhimrāj Oorea, a person originally patronised by Mahomed Shah." Bhimrāj sent men to the Ray of

Orissa representing that the time was opportune for "recovering his hereditary dominions in Telingāna." Bhimraj promised assistance provided he were allowed for the present to retain the fort and district of Condapilly. The Ray of Orissa summoning the Raja of Jajnugger to his assistance marched to Telingāna. On Muhammad's arrival near Rajahmundry he retreated. Bhimraj retired to Condapilly.

Mr. B. N. De in his translation of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* has translated this passage from a lithograph edition of Ferishta's text. He reads Kandnir for Konḍapalle and what is more important *Hamira* Ooreah for Bhimraj Oorea. As he has not dealt with *Hamvira's* career, we may safely assume that he has not purposely misread Bhimraj as Hamirā. According to Mr. B. N. De's translation, Hamirā sent men to the Ray of Orisse stating that "if the Ray would make Tilang over to Hamirā the latter would surrender the Fort of Kandnir and its dependencies to him." The Ray marched to Telingāna but retreated on the Sultān's advance towards Rajahmundry. Hamirā shut himself in the Fort of Kandnir"

(The Publication of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. III Pt. I Page 104 fn.) From this statement we glean the following facts:—

Firstly, Ferishta correctly mentions Hamirā which Briggs reads as Ambur and Bhimraj; and secondly, Ferishta mentions that Hamirā lived as a protege of Muhammad, probably at Kandnir.

(B) It is stated both in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Trans. by Mr. B. N. De Vol. III Pt. I pp. 103-105) and *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* that the perfidious Ray of Orissa invaded the territory of Islam. Nizām-ul-Mulk was sent to repulse the enemy but he failed. On the Sultān's advance with a large army the Ray made a hasty retreat. The fort of Rajahmundry was surrendered by the besieged garrison.

The Muslim chronicles also agree in stating the fact that Muhammad besieged Konḍavidu (Kandnir-Ferishta; Kondavir-Burhan; Kandar-*Tabaqat*). It was surrendered after some resistance. Nothing is known about Hamvira after the fall of Konḍavidu. Thus ended in political obscurity the life of this unhappy prince. Ferishta's account of Hamvira should not be rejected simply because the *Burhan*

and the *Tabaqat* do not mention all the details of Muhammad's war with Purushottama for the possession of the Telingāna coast. Nara-hari Pātra, son of Kumāra Hamvira Mahāpātra, served under Vira-bhadra, the son of Pratāpa Rudra. He was made a captive after the fall of Koṇḍavidu. (The ins. No. 272 of 1897).

THE KANCHI-KAVERI TRADITION.

11. P. 35—"Can it be possible for any stone cutter, however capable he might be, to emboss images on stones already fixed in the wall"? Apparently, Mr. Ramadas has not seen the pictorial representation of the Kāñchī-Kāverī-expedition on a wall of the audience-hall of the temple of Jagannātha.

12. P. 36—"The narrator (The author of the *Charitamritam*) mentions the conquest of the Vidyānagar countary and bringing of the *Māṇikyā Simhāsanasa*; but does not even suggest the capture of the princess (of Kāñchī) which is made so much of."

P. 36—, I H. Q. Vol. XXI. No. 1—"The tradition of *Sākṣī-Gopāla* has no connection with the Kāñchī expedition."

13. P. 37.—The Kārṇāṭa princess of the tradition. Mr. Ramadas points out there is no evidence, inscriptional, or literary, to bear out the tradition. In this connection I wrote as follows:—"It is just possible that Purushottama wanted to marry the princess of Kārṇāṭa... There is nothing which goes against the evidence of the *Mādala Pañjī* that Purushottama married the princess after defeating the king of Kārṇāṭa" i. e. Sāluva Narasimha, the governor of Chandra-giri. This conjecture can be tentatively accepted in the absence of any information to the contrary. The Kāñchī tradition prevails in many parts of Orissa and in different forms. We can account for its widespread popularity only by admitting that it contains germs of historical truth. There is the tradition of Kāñchī-Ganeśa which Purushottama is said to have brought to Puri. There is the tradition of Kanak Durgā and Ballabha Nārāyaṇa at Jeypore, which Mr. Ramadas certainly knows. These images are stated to have been taken away from the custody of the followers of Purushottama while they were returning from Kāñchī. Purushottama is said to have installed

the image of Sundara-Mādhava at Purushottampur in the Ganjam district, while returning from the Kāñchī expedition.

In the district of Balasore, near the river Suvarṇarekhā, there is a ruined fort called Deulgāon. Beames writes that the fort contains two horsemen with their riders, cut from old blocks of Chlorite stone (Indian Antiquary, 1872).

Stirling in his minute on the land tenure of Orissa dated 1821 A. D. has quoted the following statement of Orme:—"The tradition of those countries (districts of Ganjam, Chicacole and Rajahmundry) says that many centuries before Mohomedanism a king of Jagannath in Orissa marched to the south with a great army, which subdued not only these provinces but crossing the Kistna conquered in the Carnatic as far as Conjeeveram. These conquests he distributed in many portions among his relatives, officers and menial servants." Several of the Northern Polygars or hill-chiefs pretend to be lineally descended from these officers.

14. P. 38 "Narasimha Rāya's mother was Mallāmbikā.—Thus many names of the women of the south have been studied and found not even one of them was Padmāvati." I am quoting from my article (P. 43 I. H. Q. Vol. XXI) the following sentences:—"The *Mādalā Pañjī* calls her *Padmini Kanyā*. Probably Rupāmbikā was given this name (of Padmāvati), she being *Padmini* or a very beautiful damsel."

Thus in brief are the arguments to support our conclusions regarding the Kāñchī-Kāverī tradition. This is not the proper place for entering into a detailed discussion on other exploits of Purushottama. In P. 37 of his article, Mr. Ramadas refers to Kalāpāhār as follows:—

"Kalapahar who carried away even the images must be expected to have carried away the *jewelled throne*",

But the *Akbarnāmā*, *Ain-i-Akbari*, *Twarikh of Badauni*, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, etc make no mention of these facts. Evidently Mr. Ramadas has relied upon the tradition, though he has criticised us for bringing

in "all kinds of traditions" to show that the story of Kañchī-Kāveri should not be summarily rejected as a mere romance.

These criticisms do not in any way reduce the importance of Mr. Ramada's thoughtful and learned paper—"the product of a very critical study".

KALIYUGARĀJAVṚTTĀNTA AND BHAVIṢYOTTARAPURĀṆA

By D. R. MANKAD

Dr R.C. Majumdar and Mr. N.N. Dasgupta have shown that (IHQ, xx,4,p.345 ff) the Puranic verses regarding the Guptas, quoted in Krishnamchariar's 'Classical Sanskrit literature', are forged and therefore unreliable. I agree with their conclusions so far as they go; but the question has a history, which is very important for our ancient chronology.

It was Mr. T. S. Narayan Shāstri, who, in his writings on 'The Age of Shankara' and 'The Kings of Magadha' had, for the first time, printed and discussed these verses. He declared that he possessed a Ms. of Kaliyugarājavṛttānta (KR) as given in Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa², from which he had quoted these and other verses given in his works. I have found that these same verses have been used by Krishnamachariar in his 'Classical Sanskrit Literature,' by Mr. Jagannatha Rao in his 'The Age of Mahabharata war' and by some other writers; but almost all of them have never acknowledged that they have drawn these verses from Shāstri's book.

Mr. Shāstri's original work shows his scholarship, his fresh outlook, his original interpretive powers and sincere enthusiasm for our ancient culture. It is rather unfortunate that in his over-enthusiasm, he seems to have gone beyond his limits: but I shall explain the whole position as I have understood it from a close study of his work.

Mr. Shāstri seems to have thought that the traditional date of Mahābhārata war viz. 3101 B. C. was correct. Now, so far as our tradition goes, 3101 B. C. as the date of the Mahābhārata war has been found current from a long time past. At the same time we

1 See also Journal of Bihar Research Society, xxx, pp. 1 pp.

2 A MS. of Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa, copied in V. S. 1882 exists in Tanjore Maharaja Sarfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library (no. 1556); but it has no chapter on Kaliyugarājavṛttānta.

should admit that there is one other date 2448 B. C.—accepted by Kalhana in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. Thus our tradition knows of two dates for the Mahābhārata war 3101 B. C. and 2448 B. C. A third date is sometimes obtained by the scholars in an indirect manner. Our Purāṇas give the number of years that had elapsed from the time of Parikṣit's birth to Mahāpadma's accession. But the Puranic texts at this point are confused and they give figures like 1050, 1159, 1500. And the modern scholars, accepting the lowest figure as correct and putting Mahāpadma in c. 350 B. C. say that Mahābhārata war was fought in c. 1400 B. C. But this last presupposes the synchronism between Candragupta Maurya and Alexander the Great. And there is not a single statement or a single reference in our vast literature, which puts Mbh war in 1400 B. C. Therefore, to one who wishes to rely upon traditions and then to examine other literary evidence in that light, there are only two dates known for the Mahābhārata war 3101 B. C. and 2448 B. C. Out of these two dates, 3101 B. C. is known to have been used earlier than Kalhana, who, for the first time advocates the date 2448 B. C. Of course, it is likely that it was known before the days of Kalhana. Any way, so far as Mr. Shastri is concerned, he has taken 3101 B. C. as the correct date and then tried to examine on that basis, the synchronism (established by the modern scholars) between Candragupta Maurya and Alexander.

The question for him was this: if we put the Mbh war in 3101 B. C., who was the king ruling in Magadha in 327 B. C., purely according to the Puranic evidence? To answer this, we must examine the various Kali dynasties given in the Purāṇas. Mr. Shastri has done this in his book, 'The kings of Magadha' and I put his results below, with my own remarks thereon. He takes 3101 B. C. as the date of Kali-start and as Kali had started with the death of Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira, 3101 B. C. is the date of Yudhiṣṭhira's death. Now Yudhiṣṭhira is said to have ruled for 35 years. Therefore, the war, Mr. Shastri urged, had been fought in 3101+35=3136 B. C. Thus Mr. Shastri starts his post-Mbh chronology with 3136 B. C. He, then, takes up the total regnal periods of the various dynasties that ruled over Magadha after the Mbh war.

Now, our Purāṇas give, for each of the post-Mbh. dynasties, the regnal period of each individual king as well as the general total of the reigns of the whole dynasty. Sometimes it is urged that the Purāṇas show discrepancy when we total up individual regnal periods and compare them with the general totals (of the whole dynastys). But I must say that I have studied this question in detail¹, and have found that this discrepancy is found only if we accept the readings with the lowest figures. I know that if we adopt proper readings, the total of the individual rules and that of the whole dynastic rule agree very well. Having, thus, cleared this point, let us now proceed.

After the Mbh war, the Purāṇas unanimously give 1,000 years to the Bārhadraṭha dynasty, 138 years to the Pradyota dynasty, 360 or 362 years to the Śaiśunāga dynasty and 100 years more to the Nanda dynasty. Thus, according to these totals, given in all the Purāṇas uniformly, Candragupta Maurya came to the throne 1600 years after the Mbh war. Putting Mbh war in 3136 B. C., as Mr. Shastri does, we get $3136 - 1600 = 1536$ B. C. as the date of Candragupta Maurya's accession. But our scholars do not take 1500 years as the correct figure for the first three dynasties i. e. upto the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda. They rely upon a verse (found in all our Purāṇas), which reads as under :

महापद्ममिवेकात्तु यावज्जन्म परीक्षितः

एवं वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चाशदुत्तमं (Pargiter: P. 58,)

This verse gives 1050 years from Parikṣit's birth (i. e. Mbh war) to Mahāpadma's accession, and above we have seen that according to the totals of the first three dynasties, we get 1500 years for the same period. Thus here, we seem to come in conflict with two different Puranic texts. But I should point out that even according to Pargiter himself, the last line of the above verse has a reading like *pancaśatottaram*, which gives just 1500 years for this period. Therefore, in order to have conformity, we should accept this reading and not the one accepted by Pargiter. But the modern scholars accept the lower figure and then complain of discrepancy in the Puranic texts. Mr. Shastri,

¹ In my forthcoming book on 'Puranic Chronology'.

has accepted 1500 years or this period, as it is the only authentic figure according to the Purāṇas.

Thus putting the Mbh war in 3136 B. C. Mr. Shastri found that Candragupta Maurya, according to the Puranic calculations, came to the throne in 1536 B. C. Therefore, he said that Candragupta Maurya was not the contemporary of Alexander. Now, it should be remembered that so far, that is, upto the end of the Nandas, all the Purāṇas are unanimous in their totals for the different dynasties and the totals given from K. R. by Mr. Shastri also agree with these totals. Therefore, even if KR is a forgery, there should be no difficulty in accepting the figures given by all the other existing Puranas unanimously. Even if we put the Mbh war in 2448 B. C. according to Kalhaṇa and others, Candragupta Maurya's accession, according to this calculation will have to be put in 848 B. C. and thus also he cannot be taken to be Alexander's contemporary.

Thus so far the position is this. Purely from the standpoint of Indian Brahmanic tradition, Candragupta Maurya lived much earlier than 327 B. C. Thus by examining the traditional evidence, Mr. Shastri came to the conclusion, first, negatively that Candragupta Maurya could not have been the contemporary of Alexander and then, positively, that it was Candragupta I of the Gupta Dynasty who was Alexander's contemporary. Before I examine the evidence relied upon by Mr. Shastri, for the period subsequent to the Nandas, I must emphasise the fact that it is only after disregarding the Brahmanic traditional evidence altogether and that too, most uncereemoniously that the modern scholars obtain the synchronism between Candragupta Muraya and Alexander: now let us proceed.

If Candragupta Maurya was not the contemporary of Alexander, who else was his contemporary at Magadha? The names Xandrames and Sandrocottus found in the writings of the Greek writers, point to a name like Candragupta. If, therefore, a Candragupta was the contemporary of Alexander and if he was not Candragupta Maurya, he must have been Candragupta of the Gupta dynasty, as the earliest Candragupta (after Candragupta Maurya) of whom we know in our history was Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty. We should,

therefore, just see whether he could have been Alexander's contemporary or not. If he was Alexander's contemporary, he must be placed in C. 327 B. C. Therefore, he should have been removed from the Mbh war by about [3136 (taking that to be the date of mbh war) — 327] 2809 years. According to the Purāṇas, the Guptas come after the Andhras. Therefore, we should see if the Purāṇas give about 2809 years for the post-Mbh dynasties up to the end of the Andhras. A study of the Puranic texts as given in Pargiter's Kali texts and as are generally found in our printed Purāṇas, shows the following. Just after the Mbh war Bārhadhrathas ruled for 1000 years, Pradyotas for 138 years, Śaisunāgas for 360 years, Nandas for 100 years, Mauryas for 137 years, Śuṅgas for 112 years, Kāṇvas for 45 years and Āndhras for 456 years. This gives a total of 2348 years, and not of 2809 years.

It is just at this point that Mr. Shastri's KR is said to differ from the other Purāṇas. Following table will make this difference clear.

	Acc. to Pargiter's texts.	Acc. to K R	Difference
Bārhadhrathas	1000	1000	—
Pradyotas	138	138	—
Śaisunāgas	360	362	2 years
Nandas	100	100	—
Mauryas	137	316	179 years
Śuṅgas	112	300	188 years
Kāṇvas	45	85	40 years
Āndhras	456	506	50 years
	<hr/> 2348	<hr/> 2807	<hr/> 459 year

This table shows that KR differs from Pargiter's texts in the case of the Śaisunāgas by 2 years, in the case of the Mauryas by 179 years, in the case of the Śuṅgas by 188 years, in the case of the Kāṇvas by 40 years and in the case of the Āndhras by 50 years. And we find that the figures according to K R gives us a total of 2809 years, which is practically the same as 2809, which would be required, acc-

ording to Mr. Shastri's calculation, if Candragupta I was Alexander's contemporary. Difference of 2 years would only mean that Candragupta I came to the throne in 329 B. C. and not in 327 B. C.

Now because we find that the verses regarding the Guptas as given by Mr. Shastri from KR are forged (and I admit that certain details given in those verses are really suspicious), we are likely to say that these totals for different dynasties as given according to KR, are also forged. But before rejecting these figures so summarily, I suggest that we should hear what Mr. Shastri himself has said about them, I should point out that Mr. Shastri himself has shown that at all the places where a difference is found between his figures and those of other Purāṇas, his figures are supported by one or the other known Purāṇa: I have myself verified Mr. Shastri's arguments and statements and I give below the whole position about these dynasties as I find it.

Mr. Shastri gives 362 years for the Śaiśunāgas while the other Purāṇas give 360 to them. But even according to Pargiter (p. 22, for 46) certain mss of Vāyu and Viṣṇu give 362 to Śaiśunāgas.

Regarding the Mauryas, we find that Pargiter's texts give them 137 years and Shastri's KR gives them 316 years. Mr. Shastri says the following in support of his figure. (The Kings of Magadha p. 56).

"There is however another version of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa which mentions the names of all these 12 kings and total number of years for which they reigned makes up exactly 316 years: Miss C. Mabel Duff in her Table of the Maurya Dynasty appended to her chronology of India refers to a version of Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa in which the name of 11 kings are mentioned omitting the name of Indrapālita who ruled for 70 years; and the number of years given to each of these kings exactly tallies with this version excepting the fact that Candragupta is assigned only 24 years instead of 34 years and Nandasāra only 25 years instead of 28 as we have in this version."

And I should add that Pargiter's eva (e ms of Vāyu) also gives the same figures as are given by Miss Duff, so that what Mr. Shastri says is quite plausible and we have to admit that the tradition of 316 for the Mauryas was known to, at least some of the known Purāṇas.

Mr. Shastri's KR gives 300 years to the Śungas, while Pargiter's texts give them 112 years. Here also, as Mr. Shastri himself has pointed out, some of the Purāṇas do read "śate dve ca" i. e. 100 plus 200 i. e. 300 years in all. Pargiter also notes this reading (śate dve) in fn 50 p. 33.

Regarding the Kāṇvas, Pargiter gives 45 years and KR gives 85 years. Here also Mr. Shastri has noted a reading of Viṣṇu thus : (p. 86-7)

एते चत्वारिंशत् काण्वयनाश्चत्वारः पञ्चचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि भूपतये भविष्यन्ति

And Shastri has taken this to mean $40+45=85$ years for the Kāṇvas. I should only point out that a similar reading is noted by Pargiter also (p. 35 fn. 29).

Thus, though it is true that the figures given for these dynasties by Mr. Shastri's KR differ from Pargiter's texts, there are other genuine readings which support the figures given by Mr. Shastri. So that even if we say that the talk of KR is altogether fabricated by Mr. Shastri, we can still not get away from the fact that there seem to have been two distinct traditions regarding the regnal periods of these dynasties. This is supported by the following also.

It will be seen from the table given above that for the Mauryas, the Śungas and the Kāṇvas, there is a difference of 407 years between the two traditions. Elsewhere I have shown,' on the authority of Arrian, that this difference was caused because there were two kingless periods of $300+120=420$ years somewhere between these dynasties, and that one tradition included and the other did not include these 420 years in its totals. For this I have now found a clearer proof. Usual figure for the Śungas is 112 years, and as is pointed out by Pargiter, 118 years, if we include the months, (p. 30). Now JM+(jms of Matsya) gives 538 years to the Śungas (see Pargiter's texts P. 33 fn 50) i. e. exactly 420 years more than the usual figure. This, I suggest, includes 420 years of the two kingless gaps. And I further suggest that the difference

1 See D. R. Mankad, Chronology of Kali Dynasties in Poona Orientalist, VIII, Nos. 1-2

of 407 years found between the above two schools is also due to this circumstance¹. The difference of 13 years ($420-407=13$) is to be explained in some other manner.

Thus we do find two distinct schools up to the end of the Kānvas. Then for the Āndhras, Pargiter gives 456 and KR gives 506 years. The difference of 50 years is, I think, caused by the inclusion of 52 or 50 years of the Āndhrabhṛtyas.

Thus, without passing a judgment about the genuineness or otherwise of Mr. Shastri's KR, we have to admit that our Puranic tradition knows of two distinct versions and according to one of these versions, the total of post-Mbh dynasties up to the end of the Āndhras is 2348 years and according to the other version 2807 years. And all that Mr. Shastri and others have done is to say that if we put Mbh war in 3136 B. C., the king of Magadha ruling in C. 327 B. C., at least according to the second Puranic version noted above, was Candragupta I (of the Gupta dynasty) and not Candragupta Maurya. Further, it can be said that the first version also goes against the contemporaneity of Candragupta Maurya and Alexander, as it, too, gives 1600 years from the Mbh war to the end of the Nanda Dynasty.

Thus we do find that one version of the Purāṇas shows the contemporaneity of Candragupta I (of the Gupta dynasty) and Alexander. And, Mr. Shastri seeing this version supporting this contemporaneity, probably further wished to corroborate the Greek accounts regarding Sandrocottus from the Purāṇas, and finding no version supporting them in certain details, quietly manufactured some verses himself and passed them off as occurring in KR. This, to me, seems to be the genesis of the whole question.

But all this brings out the fact that there is a version of the Puranic texts which gives about 2807 years between Yudhiṣṭhira and the end of the Āndhras. I must here say that I myself have found this to be the case,² *not simply by counting the number of regnal periods but*

1 See my papers: (1) The Manvantara, IHQ, XVIII, p. 208 ff. (2) The Manvantara-Caturyuga Method in Silver Jubilee number of ABORI. (3) Bharatiya Vidya, Vol. VI, my paper on Two notes on Manvantara-Caturyuga-Method.

2 I earnestly request all the students of ancient Indian chronology, to re-examine the Puranic Chronology in the light of my views. I am sure that any one who examines the Puranic dynasties in this light will be convinced of the truth of my views.

by showing that, for longer chronological computations, the Puranic chronologists have followed a peculiar device which I have designated as *Manvantara-caturyuga Method* (=M CM). As I have shown there, they took a unit of 40 years (called caturyuga or Yugākhyā) and in a given dynasty, they kept as many king names as the units of 40 years were required. If a dynasty lasted for 200 years and even if during these 200 years there ruled 10 kings of that dynasty, they kept only five kings-names and omitted others, for they required 5 units of 40 years each for these 200 years. Thus in our Puranic genealogical tables, both solar and lunar, the kings who are enumerated are, really speaking king units or regnal units of 40 years each. I have shown in detail that this method is actually employed in all our dynastic lists, including the Kali dynasties. I request the interested reader to refer to my papers.

In the end, I should admit that this synchronism between Candragupta I and Alexander goes completely against the modern accepted chronology of ancient India; and there are many formidable objections (e. g. the date of Buddha's and Mahāvira's nirvāṇa, the mention of five Hellenistic kings in the Piyadasi inscriptions, the beginning of the Gupta era etc.) which can be urged against this synchronism. All I can say, at present, is this that, so far as I am able to see, all such objections can easily be answered and that our entire tradition—Brahmanic, Buddhistic and Jain—presuppose the above synchronism. I shall show this in my future studies.¹

¹ In my forthcoming work 'Puranic Chronolo

RESEARCH NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Pāṇḍavas.

By DR. S. C. SARKAR.

In the opinion of some noted Western scholars, the Bhārata War between Kurus and Pāṇḍavas was due to the challenge and ambition of a polyandrous tribe akin to Tibetans, coming down from the mountainous Uttara-Kuru and usurping the territories of the kindred Dakṣiṇa-Kurus of Kuru-kṣetra (who had already become Indianised and did not practise polyandry).

This view, though quite plausible, was not supported by strong arguments, and did not take account of a number of other facts of historical tradition or ethnology.

Without attempting a thorough re-examination of the whole question, I am giving below certain facts which have come to my notice in connection with my Tibetan studies, as well as my epic-purāṇic studies.

In the first instance I would refer scholars to what I have noted on the subject of 'polyandry' and 'levirate', and the Pāṇḍavas and their ancestry, in my book "Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India" (O. U. P.). I am keeping all those references and inferences in view.

Now, in the Tibetan classical (as well as later) language, 'spun.' (pron. 'pun') means 'brothers, of the same father, but specially of the same mother'; 'spun. sla.' (pron. 'pun-da') means 'brothers, of the same mother, but of different fathers'. 'Spun. sla. va-ahi. bu.', or 'spun. sla. va. bu.', or 'spun. sla. bu.', or simply 'spun. sla.' as well,—(pron. 'pun-da-va-i-bu', or 'pun-da-va-bu', or 'pun-da-bu', and 'pun-da', respectively),—all mean "joint husbands of one common wife, being brothers of either one father, or specially of one mother, or even joint husbands of different parentage".—'Spun.' and 'spun. sla.' also mean a fraternity or comradeship for a common object, or an association or 'gaṇa'. Accordingly 'spun. aḥchal. mo.' (fraternity or 'gaṇa' corrupting woman) means secondarily a courtesan ('gaṇikā'), and is

apparently the origin of the Indianised 'pumścali' (= 'gaṇikā', stirring up 'spun. '); these terms were abusively applied to the common wife of the Pāṇḍavas.—It is also to be noted that in Sanskrit 'paṇḍa' means impotent, and thus 'Pāṇḍava' could mean 'affiliated to the family of an impotent person'. It is further to be noted that in Indian pronunciation, 'pun-da', 'pun-da-bu', etc., would readily be converted into 'puṇḍa', 'puṇḍabu', etc., and then into 'pāṇḍu', 'pāṇḍaba (va)', etc.; and for a derivation, subsequent generations would hit upon either an impotent person, 'paṇḍa', or upon a single man 'Pāṇḍu' (instead of several joint husbands, 'pun-dā' or 'pāṇḍu').

Now taking all these points into consideration, along with the references (and inferences therefrom) as collected in my aforementioned work, the following explanation of the 'Pāṇḍavas' of the Mahābhārata seems to me to be scientifically and historically correct:—

The Kurus, both the Southern Kurus of Hastinā and Kuru-kṣetra as well as the Northern Kurus (amongst whom the "Pāṇḍavas" are said to have been born), practised Polyandry, though with the latter it was much more prevalent, naturally. The Pāñcālas also, both the Southern of Kāmpilla, later including Kāśi, and the Northern of Ahicchatra and Dehra-Dun-Mussoorie Himalayas), favoured the same custom, rather more than the Southern Kurus. The Gotamas, or Āṅgirasas, of S. E. Himālayas and adjacent Prācī, also practised polyandry. The Yādavas (Bhojas) to the S. W. of the Yamunā allowed their women to be married into polyandrous families of the Upper Yamunā and Gaṅgā, by special 'absolutions'.

The term 'Pāṇḍava' in fact could be applied to more than one generation of the Kuru princes of the Mahābhāratan age. The Tibetans would regard Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana and Vicitravīrya, as 'Pundābu' (Śāntanu and Parāśara being 'Pundā's'), and would include Bhīṣma too, if he had agreed to function according to the wishes of Satyawatī and the Kāśi princesses. [In this respect Bhīṣma stands in the same position as Karṇa in the next generation].—So also, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, "Pāṇḍu" and Vidura would be regarded as 'Pundā-i-bu' or children of a 'Pundā' family.—As I have hinted in my aforesaid book, Kuntī's children were as much by levirate as by polyandry, and some of the 'Pundā's (or joint husbands) may yet be identified in her case,—for which she received

'absolution' from the Ātreya high-priest of the Yādavas; most of these 'pundās' of Kuntī were apparently brothers or cousins. Karna also could have been included as a 'Pundā', since it was not essential for all joint husbands to be brothers, and since all brothers born of the same mother made good 'pundā's.—Of course Draupadī's children were 'Pundā-bu's or Pāṇḍavas.—Mādrī's children were also technically Pāṇḍavas; as Madra (Uttara and Dakṣiṇa) was adjacent to Uttara-Kuru, Mādrī had no difficulty in following Kuntī's polyandry.

From the standpoint of social anthropology, the Bhārata War was a purely Kaurava internecine war between two factions, one sticking to the practice of polyandry, and the other giving it up for the 'Aila' (Indo-Aryan) practice of unrestricted polygamy (which resulted in a 'hundred and one' children of Dhṛtarāṣṭrā) introduced by the Gāndhāra connection. Though the polyandrous group emerged victorious, the victory was abortive, and in the Kuru dominions (both on the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā and the Sarasvatī) the Vṛṣṇi (Yādava) stock was grafted on to the Kaurava dynasty,—and the Neo-Kurus began from Parikṣit of the Kali Age.

Naturally in subsequent times, *i. e.*, between 900 B. C. and 600 B. C.—between Parikṣit and Udayana,—attempts were made (crudely and unsuccessfully) to erase from records the polyandric features of the Kuru people and country of the earlier epoch. Here it should be noted that though the Kurus claimed to be (or were later affiliated to the) Ailas and Bharatas, the connection is very vague, and there seem to have been great gaps and breaks between Bharata-Dauṣyanti and the days of the Māhabhārata war. Even if they were 'Indo-Aryans', they must have been of a later immigration through Tibetan and North Himalayan regions, fully adopting polyandry and other Alpine features.

SWISS COMPANIES AND CAPTAIN POLIER IN THE MILITARY SERVICE OF THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY.

By DR. KALIKINKAR DATTA, PATNA COLLEGE.

The Court of Directors in England sent to India four Companies¹ of Swiss troops, each composed of 100 men. Their services were enlisted by the English East India Company in India, particularly against the French. Orme refers to the arrival at Madras in 1752 of two Swiss Companies commanded by Swiss Captains². When the French had reached the proximity of Fort St. David in 1752, a company of Swiss under Captain Schaub was sent on boats from Madras to intercept them³. But they were captured by some Frenchmen sent by Dupleix on a vessel from Pondicherry and were detained there as prisoners of war⁴. Immediately on hearing of this news, Major Lawrence embarked for Fort St. David with another party of Swiss troops under Captain Gaupp⁵.

Captain Paul Philip Polier was commander of one such company. The services of his company were for some time transferred from Madras to Bengal⁶ most probably early in 1753. On the 11th January, 1753, he presented himself before the Council in Calcutta and informed the members there that his men were daily deserting that place, and that sixteen of them, some belonging to his own town and enjoying his greatest confidence, had already gone away. He observed that the French (at Chandernagore) seduced them by indirect means and sent them to Pondicherry, the "open situation" of Calcutta making

¹ Letter from Court, 11th February, 1756, para. 113.

² *Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 259.

³ Lawrence, *A Narrative of the War on the Coromandel Coast*, p. 34.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Letter to Court, 11th February. 1756, para. 61

it impossible for him to prevent their flight. He proposed to take back his officers and men to the southern coast, where he hoped to take effective steps against the inconveniences and to render better service to the English Company.

To prevent prejudice to the interests of the Company ⁷, Captain Polier joined Major Lawrence with 100 soldiers of his party on 1st April, 1753. With this reinforcement the Major wanted to storm the French camp at Trivadi ⁸. On arriving at Trichinopoly on the 6th May, 1753, Major Lawrence found that among others one Serjeant and 15 men of a Swiss Company had deserted his detachment⁹. But Captain Polier and his party remained faithful, though they unknowingly committed a tactical military blunder ¹⁰. On the 12th May, 1754, Captain Polier commanded the British troops as Major Lawrence was confined to bed from illness. While he was then trying to assist one detachment under Captain Caillaud, the French "disabled one of his field pieces" as also one of the latter ¹¹. Captain Polier's battalion was present in the army under Colonel Alexander Heron during its march from Madura towards the end of May, 1755 ¹². Advised by the Madras Council to return to Arcot, the Nawab of the Carnatic left Trichinopoly for his capital on the 9th July, 1755, accompanied by an escort of 300 Europeans and 1,000 sepoys under the command of Captain Polier¹³.

Towards the end of 1755, the Court of Directors in England decided to stop the recruitment of men from Switzerland for the four Swiss Companies and to put them on an equal footing with the English battalions in all respects except in the number of each of the

⁷ Letter to Court, 15th January, 1753, para. 4.

⁸ Orme, *Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 283; Lawrence, *Narrative*, p. 42.

⁹ Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 287.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 289.

¹¹ Orme, Vol. I, p. 357; Lawrence, *Narrative*, p. 65.

¹² Orme, Vol. I., p. 393.

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 395; Lawrence, p. 87.

former which was to be limited to 140 men¹⁴. Captain Polier being the oldest of all the Swiss military officers in India was given a new Commission investing him with the seniormost rank among them.¹⁵ Captain Paul Philip Polier was the uncle of his better-known kinsman Antoine Louis Henry Polier¹⁶.

¹⁴ Letter from Court, 11th February, 1756, paras. 108-113.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. VI, pp. 176-77; *Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XX.

Reviews and Notices of Books.

FOLK-SONGS OF CHATTISGARH: VERRIER ELWIN:
O. U. P., 1946; pr. Rs. 51—;pp. lxi+466.

This collection (in translation) of about 500 folk-songs (and ballads) represents a number of aspects of country life that are of interest to the social anthropologist; naturally therefore about 200 of them are on love and sex subjects,—and though they are often 'pagan' in expression, the collector and translator has shown admirable artistic and scientific sense in not eschewing them and in giving them the proper consideration and importance.

The work itself begins with two able 'reviews', one by the author's friend and admirer Mr. W. G. Archer, I. C. S., and the other by the author himself,—under the headings 'Comments' and 'Introduction'. We are in agreement with much that is said in these two essays,—about the importance and interest of the subject matter, the parallels of literary technique, nature symbolism and turns of expression as between this kind of folk poetry and early as well as modern English (and continental) poetry, the value of such collections and their literary English translations for the modern English scholar and writer, and the poetic quality of the translator combined with the scientific acumen of an ethnologist.

But we hope Dr. Elwin and Mr. Archer will permit us to place before them certain views and facts,—unorthodox views and neglected facts,—offered mainly from the standpoint of history, while that of ethnology and art is not obscured thereby.

History would say that there has been a good deal of confusion in the minds of social anthropologists as to the nature, origins, distribution, traditions and culture of the so-called "aboriginal" peoples of India. The subject is a very complex one, and masses of various technical details have to be considered for a proper estimate of the

problem We would mention here only one or two points by way of showing where history differs from the line taken by ethnologists hitherto. While the latter take it for granted that the Santhals and their kin are "aboriginals" of India, who have been here from before the 'Indo-European' Wanderings, and have all along been inhabitants ("ādivāsī"s) of Chotanagpur and "Santhal Parganas", the historian would point out that until about 1740 A. D. the "Santal Parganas" was a thoroughly Bengali area, and the political and cultural centre of Bengal was situated at Rajmahal (after Gaur) till 1660, when the capital was moved to Dacca, whence it was again moved. The Mahratta raids from the 2nd quarter to the 3rd quarter of the 18th century, depopulated and ruined this region; certain Mahratta families settled here in this period. Subsequently the vacancy was filled in by trickles of Santal migration from Ranchi and Hazaribagh (Dāmudā Valley), and by about 1850 the Santals formed the main population, along with Bengali remnants and domiciled Mahrattas. Then came the Santal rebellion and the demarcation of Santal Parganas as an Enclosure after the Red Indian Model.—Very similar is the history of Chotanagpur districts, and of the adjacent Surguja, Garhjat and other hill regions of the Central Provinces, West Bihar and South U. P.—We need not go into these details here,—but we may say that historical facts point to the general conclusion that quite a number of the peoples usually called ādivāsīs or aboriginals, are very late immigrants into India,—as late as the mediaeval Muslim periods of history,—from the North-Eastern borderlands of India,—that they penetrated from the N. E. to the South *via* Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Chotanagpur, Gondwana and Hyderabad,—and that they have for several generations now been retracing their steps by the same routes, back to the North-East. [Here too, Santal history is a good example]. History and archaeology also know that the wild and jungly tracts of to-day were not so in the past,—not even in the late mediaeval times. Thus Chattisgarh and Gondwana are nothing but the ancient Mahā- or Dakṣiṇa- Kosala and Cedi, so very well represented in political and cultural history all along in the past; the last great dispersal of civilised strata from this area was in the time of the Mughal conquest and defeat of the renowned Rāṇī Durgāvatī,—one incidental result of which was the establishment of the Gidhaur

Rāj in East Bihar. So also, Chota-Nāgpur [Chutia- or Śiṣu- Nāga-pura] was the major part of the ancient Magadha,—and even up to the days of the E. I. Company, the Hindu civilised kingdom of Pachet occupied several districts of Chota Nagpur, as did that of Viṣṇupur. The tribes of primitive culture in these regions are deposits of comparatively modern “wanderings”, facilitated by the chronic disturbed state of the country due to political upheavals and wars of the last several centuries;—and instead of contributing to the stock of Indian Culture (as is sometimes claimed) have imbibed itselements very freely. If they have given India anything, those items are very similar or identical with other “really aboriginal” elements assimilated in the Early Indian Civilization of the Pre-Āryan (‘Mahenjo-Dāro’) type, or of the mixed Indo-Āryan or ‘Vedic’ type. In fact, to our mind, there is little in the poetry of these peoples (like the Santals, Gonds, etc.), fine as it is, that is not very truly and traditionally Indian, i. e. classical Indian.

Here the reviewer may be permitted to refer to some of his own juvenile poetry composed in his later ‘teens, when he had no knowledge of aboriginal ethnology and poetry, or of ancient history. Specimens of these he has already sent to Dr. Elwin for his comparison and conclusions. The reviewer thinks that much of the technique of expression and the types of nature symbolism that Dr. Elwin and Mr. Archer associate with ‘folk’ literature and ‘aboriginal’ poetry and thought, is to be found in the reviewer’s early writings as well :—a sophisticated university scholar, steeped in Sanskrit and Bengali and in English as well as in other continental and American literatures, belonging to the group nowadays rather maliciously dubbed ‘caste’ Hindus,—thinking and expressing himself in the “aboriginal” way !—and he has surely not been an exception; he wrote very naturally in the classical Sanskrit way, blending it with the renaissance Prākṛit way of Bengal, itself steeped in Sanskrit; so either there is no difference between “aboriginal” Indian and “classical” Indian, or the so-called ‘aboriginals’ are late-comers who have been markedly Indianised in every way.

Coming now from the love or sex poems to the ballads of this collection, we find that the ‘Bakaoli’ ballad is based entirely on the

Rāmāyaṇic group of ancient historical traditions,—most of which have been embodied in the so-called 'epic' of the Rāmāyaṇam, the rest being referred to in various other branches of ancient literature, or continuing in local (and vernacular) versions of the Rāmāyaṇic tradition.

Thus Ramu=Rāma, Lakhiyā=Lakṣmaṇa, and Satvatī=Sitā (Sati); Amarpur=Amara-pura=Amara-Kaṇṭaka (or °Kaṇṭaka)-pura =Āmra-Kūṭa (pura) or Amarkot,—all variant names in literature of that famous part of the Maikal (Mekala, Mikula) Hills in Dakṣiṇa-Kośala, where both the Śona and the Narmadā (Revā) rise,—whose sanctity, noted in the ballad, is traditional (from the epic-purāṇic days), mainly owing to association with Rāma's exile. Again, Todiyā-Mal Dāno=Tāḍakeya Malla (Malaya-Kāruṣa) Dānava,—i. e. Mārīca, son of Tāḍakā of Malaya-Kāruṣa, a 'Dānava' adherent of 'Rāvaṇa', or the 'Iraivan' (emperor) of the Peninsula. The seat of this Tāḍakeya,—Bhaoragarh=the fortified city of the Bhars (epic-purāṇic Bhargas, Buddhist Bhaggas, and post-Kushan Bhāra-Śiva's cognate with Vindhya-Śakti) Vākāṭakas)=Pampā-pura=Vindhyācala (Bindha-chal) town fort and temples, 5 miles to the West of modern Mirzapur. The realm of the warilike woman-ruler Tāḍakā was the ancient Malaya-Kāruṣa (Mal-Kurukh) country, which corresponds roughly to modern West Shahabad and Mirzapur districts.

The 'Mangsia' Lake=Matāṅga-Saras or M°-Vāpī (an ancient tirtha known to the epics), the lake of the 'Matāṅgas' or Caṇḍālas amongst whom Hariscandra, Rohitaśva and Triśaṅku, well-known Ikṣvāku predecessors of Rāma ruled or lived in exile,—and Rāma too came in close touch with Matāṅga āśramas and the Caṇḍāla chiefs and peoples. [The ferry-man worshipping Lakhiya is an echo from the Caṇḍāla ferrymen rowing Rāma and his two companions across the Ganges on their exile and worshipping then].—The sage in the 'ant-hill' is clearly 'Vālmiki' (valmika=ant-hill), the contemporary 'Bhṛgu' ṛṣi, who first devised the śloka metre for epic poetry, and used it to write the 'Rāma-caritam' (later amplified into 'Rāmāyaṇam'),—and who was all along in close touch with the careers of Rāma, his wife and his 3 brothers and his sons.—The 'āśrama' (monastic establishment and college) of Vālmiki—Bhārgava was at the confluence of the Tamasa (mod. Tons flowing from Rewa) and the Gangā some miles to the east

of Naini (Allahabad). The location of this place at the confluence of the Tons and the Ganges is fairly correctly given in the Bakaoli ballad as within 3 Kos from the great Mangsia Lake,—which was 12 Kos from the fortified city of the Bhaora (=modern Vindhāchal,—also on the Ganges); from Amarpur (=Amarkanṭak) one had to travel by a route through forests (apparently northwards), and from that road, by a road taking off on the right (i. e. eastward) one came to Bhaora-garh; from Vālmiki's place for some distance the road to Mangsia Lake and Amarpur was the same, then for the latter one took the right-hand road and for the former the left-hand one; it seems that further east, on this Mangsia Lake road, lay Bhaora-garh, 12 kos from the lake; about 3 kos from Bhaoragarh on this same road, in the midst of '12 hills', Lakhiya (Lakṣmaṇa) fought Todīya Mall (Tāḍakeya-Malla), who was finally defeated by Ramu (Rāma) coming up from Amarpur.

Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā's attachment to one another is a strong point in the Rāmāyaṇic tradition; in fact in the Rāmāyaṇa when Lakṣmaṇa hesitates to go out on hearing what seemed to be the cries of Rāma (pursuing this same Tāḍakeya Mārīca), Sītā accuses Lakṣmaṇa with having a design of marrying her. The demands made by Satwatī on Lakhiya, and her anxiety to see him happy with a consort, echo this tradition of marked mutual devotion and attachment. Lakṣmaṇa, according to the epic tradition, had left a wife at Ayodhyā,—Urmilā, a cousin sister of Sītā (not related by blood, as Sītā was just a foundling, adopted by Sīradhvaja of Mithilā). She apparently had declined to accompany him on exile, while Sītā came forward to accompany the two brothers; it was thus natural for her, as the favourite "bhauji", to think of providing a consort for her favourite "dewar". Here comes in aptly Bakaoli, or Vakulikā (Vakula-vālikā, Vakula-pālī, etc.); this name is the source of the legend of the strong-scented flower. [The Vakula is a spreading many-branched flowering tree, and the whole tree in blossom appears to be one flower, and the scent reaches long distances]. The kernel of the legend seems to be that Sītā wanted unwilling Lakṣmaṇa to go and marry the daughter of a chieftain ("Indra") of the Mangsia (Matanga-sara) region,—probably of an Ikṣvāku family long associated with that region since Hariscandra's days, —named Vakulikā (about whom she had

heard much, as had Vālmiki the family friend), and that while Lakṣmaṇa was naturally not very keen, Sītā was naturally quite keen about it,—and she had her way, and after all Lakṣmaṇa married Vakulikā to please her, who, other considerations apart, had saved his life by deputing Rāma in that adventure in time for his aid.—The detached character of Rāma in the ballad is quite in keeping with the rather moody and melodramatic character of Rāma in the epic, where Rāma tries to be “great” by not caring for Sītā over-much, even to the extent of injuring her irretrievably.—The association of sages and saints and rājās with Rāma and his party while in exile in the Vin-dhya Regions, is also quite in keeping with epic tradition.

In the same way, the ‘Dhola’ Ballad is just a sequel to an ancient epic, based on the traditions handed down from generation to generation out of which that epic [Nalôpākhyāna] itself was formed (before the days of the Mahābhārata). We refrain from giving the details of identification here for lack of space. The Rasālu, Bijrā, Lorik and Gujārin ballads have also got traditional and historical materials, some early, some medieval, as their basic elements.—That is why we think that the “folk literature” of Gondwana (Chattisgarh), like that of many other so-called tribal regions, contains little that is “aboriginal,” or is of “ethnological” value. It is rather an illustration of the extent to which certain strata of ‘primitive’ (not ‘aboriginal’) population in the country have been influenced by the stock of ancient tradition, literature, society and religion of their more civilised and sophisticated countrymen,—who indeed were the “aboriginals” in relation to them.

We conclude this rather long communication with a sincere appreciation of not only Dr. Elwin's great labour of love, but also of his very happy combination of a spirit and equipment of scientific enquiry with the sympathy, emotion and expression of true poetry. As a successful interpreter to the West of the Indian mind (of strata not often brought to limelight), Dr. Elwin will, we are, sure live in the Indian ‘folk’ as well as ‘classic’ mind for ages.

S. C. SARKAR.

K. J. SAVE—The Warlis (Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay)
1945.

The Warlis are an aboriginal tribe inhabiting the north-western part of Thana district. They are found in the Portuguese territory of Daman, in Surat Agency and Western Nasik. They number 207,051 in the Census of 1931 and appear to be gradually increasing in numbers in spite of the much lesser number of women than men in the tribe.

Mr. Save is a special officer for the protection of aboriginal and hill tribes, Thana, and as such appears to be thoroughly acquainted with the Warlis and their culture. It is no less a privilege to study the aborigines. He has tried to combine in his study all the aspects of the Warlis—their culture, economics, mythology, language and above all their folksongs. It is indeed a new venture and Mr. Save deserves congratulations for it. At the same time the book deserves a lot of improvement in printing and photography. Few photographs can be reproduced. The writings too are not often clear. For instance: his description of the musical instrument *tarape* (an important item of material culture of which no figure or photograph is given):

"*Tarape* is made of a long dried gourd connected with a hollow portion made of palm leaves open at the other end".

Then, again the description of another musical instrument *ghangali* of which a poor sketch is given :

"It is a crude musical instrument made of two dried gourds and two wires wound to the two sticks in their mouths".

Mr. save has also introduced a few peculiar terminologies. What does he mean by the term caste Hindus? Are there any Hindus without any caste? What is meant by corn rice?

Mr. Save has recommended some useful measures for the betterment of the Warlis. The most effective of these will be in the closure of all forest wine shops. If the Warlis could be taught to convert palm juice into molasses (gur) or sugar candies they will be profited both in health and wealth. The excise revenue of a province can to a certain extent be also recovered.

'The Warlis' contain plenty of interesting information and Mr. Save, it is hoped, will continue to add to the knowledge of Indian Anthropology by his studies of the other neighbouring tribes.

S. C. SARKAR.

SHAMRAO HIVALE—The Pardhans (published for Man in India by Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1946, pp. 230/xvi, xii plates).

The Pardhans are a branch of the Gond tribe inhabiting the upper Narbada valley. According to Mr. Hivale they were probably the official genealogists of the Gond courts. They appear to be racially akin to the Gonds but the psychological difference between the two appear to show the segregation of wit, humour, music, and armour in the Pardhans and the dry, rough business attitudes in the Gond. The Pardhans are great lovers. They know how to win a woman's heart by poetry and the Gonds are afraid lest their girls have intrigues with the Pardhans. Imagine a Pardhan singing his *Mangteri* tour in the house of a Gond Thakur.

“Buy a beautiful sari
for the beautiful body you love.”

The institution of *Mangteri* is a sort of economic dependence of the Pardhans on the Gonds. Through this system the Pardhans realise a prescribed sum annually from the Gonds of the same clan. The Pardhans are the bards of the Gonds who have still remembered the heroic past of the Gonds which they sing during their *Mangteri* tour and other ceremonial occasions of the Gonds.

The Pardhans have two major sections, *Rajnengi* and *Gogia*, each having an independent type of the sacred musical instrument (*bana*) which is the seat of their chief God *Bara pen*. This is a point of much ethnological importance. Intermarriage and interdining are not in vogue among these two sections of the tribe.

The Pardhans have the same clans as the Gonds and the whole clan system according to Mr. Hivale is in a state of decay. He has also mentioned the difficulty of bringing out “any ordered system out of it.”

It appears to the reviewer that this difficulty is encountered in not following the genealogical method. The author, as Dr. Elwin points out in his admirable foreward, has avoided the genealogical method. Genealogies, apart from its value in social anthropology, are the only factual data of human biology. They can be checked and reworked as Eugen Fischer did in his second extension study of the Rehoboth Bastards of East Africa. They give a wealth of data of human biology, such as breeding groups, fecundity, sterility, sex-ratio and many such other data. Why the clan system is decaying? Has it any relationship with sex-ratio? A tribe not having a clan system before appears to have a decayed clan system when it is copied from the neighbours having clans, as is the case with the Malpaharias of Santal Pergs.

The Pardhans are however written from a different angle of vision. Mr. Hivale's clear and lucid descriptions are already well known to the readers of 'Man in India'. Indian Anthropology is enriched by his careful and painstaking work. I had read his plough punishment in 'Man in India' before but his plate VI is really interesting.

S. C. SARKAR.

1. CANDRALEKHĀ OF RUDRADĀSA Edited by Dr A.N. Upadhya, M. A., D. Litt. Bharatiya Vidya Series: No. 6. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1945. Price Rs.6. Pp.66,95.

This is a Prakrit Saṭṭaka of the type of Rājasekhara's Karpūra-mañjarī by Rudradāsa, a Pārasava enjoying the patronage of Mānaveda, probably, according to the editor, Mānaveda II, who became Zamorin of Calicut in 1658 and who is also the hero of the drama. The editor has spared no pains in making this edition a useful one, furnishing it with a learned and elaborate introduction in English, an index of verses, notes, an appendix containing remarks and extracts on Saṭṭakas, and an index of important Prakrit words. The introduction is especially helpful, tracing, as it does, *alia* the history and place in Sanskrit dramatic literature of the Saṭṭaka and giving much new information regarding its characteristics and development. Unfortunately, the ms. material on which the editor had to rely was insufficient the Prakrit text being based primarily on a single ms. The critical judgment and patient care evidenced on every page of the book, however, entitle the editor to the thanks of the learned public for having published it instead of waiting indefinitely for further materials to come forth. The printing is good, a few avoidable spelling mistakes in the introduction notwithstanding.

2. Rasaratnapradīpikā of Allarāja. Edited by R. N. Dandekar, M. A., Ph. D. Bharatiya Vidya Series: No. 8. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. 1945. Price Rs. 2-12-0. Pp. 24, 58.

This is an important work dealing with the Rasa theory of Sanskrit poetics by Allarāja, son of King Hammira, who, according to the editor, appears to have been the Chauhan king of Ranathambhor (1283-1301 A.D.) bearing that name. The text has been ably edited on the basis of four mss., which are the only ones known so far, and is accompanied by (1) a learned introduction in English, giving an analysis of the contents and trying to determine the time and identity of the author as well as his place in the history of Sanskrit poetics,

(2) a *viṣayānukramaṇīkā*, (3) notes, and (4-6) three appendices, containing respectively a discussion of the works and authors mentioned by name in the *Rasaratnapradīpikā*, a concordance of illustrative stanzas, and an index of cited stanzas tracing them to their sources as far as practicable. The printing is excellent. We are firmly of opinion that this publication will be considered a distinct contribution to the literature of Sanskrit poetics, both on account of its own intrinsic merits and of the high quality of editorial work that is in evidence throughout.

3. A Descriptive catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Library, Mysore. By H. R. Rangaswami Iyengar, M. A. and Vidvan T. T. Srinivasagopalachar. Vol. II— *Dharmaśāstra* (Smṛtis). Mysore : 1944. Price Rs. 1-4-0. Pp. ix, 216.

This is a carefully prepared and excellently printed and got-up descriptive catalogue, which gives almost everything relating to a ms. with profuse quotations from its beginning, end and colophon, a synopsis of its contents, and an indication of any noteworthy features that it may have, the latter two items being in both English and Sanskrit. An index of the works and authors is appended. We have no doubt that the work will be found serviceable.

4 The *Tantrasamuccaya* of Nārāyaṇa, with the commentaries *Vimarśinī* of Śaṅkara and *Vivaraṇa* of Nārāyaṇaśiṣya. Part 1. Edited by V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, M. A. University of Travancore: Travancore Sanskrit Series No. 151. Trivandrum: 1945. Price Rs. 3. Pp. V, 1, XXV, 35, 11, 308, 8, 22, 6, 5, 28, 2.

The *Tantrasamuchchaya*, a very important work on temple architecture and the construction, consecration and worship of the images of various deities (Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śivanārāyaṇa, Durgā, Skanda, Gaṇeśa, Śāstrī), has already appeared, along with the commentary of Śaṅkara, as Nos. 67 and 71 of the T.S.S. It is here re-edited together with the additional second commentary, and is furnished with elaborate introductions in English and Sanskrit, a list of contents, an index of verses as well as one of quotations, variant readings in the *Vivaraṇa*, an index of cited *mantras*, variant readings in the text, and a list of *errata*. This first part consists of Paṭalas I-IV. Either the

author or the book saw the light of the day in Kali era 4529 or A.D. 1428 (xii. 215), and the commentators are related to him respectively as a son and a pupil. It is curious that even these junior contemporaries of the author disagree, on several occasions, as regards the readings and order of verses in the text. Modern critics of the ancient Hindu religion may profitably take note of the attitude of this author, who looks upon the various deities as but the emblems of the different aspects of the greatness of the Supreme Being (I.3) and is entirely devoid of any sectarian narrowness. The editor and his assistants appear to have done all that they could to make the edition useful. We have already recorded our complaint regarding the quality of the paper used in T.S.S. (J.B.R.S., XXXI, pt. IV, p. 280), which we are constrained to re-iterate. Twelve different series of pagination are also rather awkward and had better be consolidated as far as possible.

T. CHOWDHURY

(Notes of the Quarter.)

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar Research Society held in the Society's office on Sunday, the 28th July, 1946.

Present:—

1. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha (in the Chair).
2. Khan Sahib S. H. Askari.
3. Dr. K. K. Datta.
4. Dr. T. P. Chowdhury.
5. Mr. A. J. Salisbury.
6. Mr. S. A. Shere.
7. Dr. S. C. Sarkar.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on 3. 2. 1946.

2. Passed the monthly accounts for the months January to June, 1946.

(ii) Passed the Annual Accounts for the year 1945-46.

(b) Resolved to request Government for increase of the Establishment grant, in view of present conditions by Rs. 600 per annum.

3. Passed payments of the following bills:— .. Rs. as. p.

- | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-----|----|---|
| (a) Dr. P. C. Bagchi's T. A. Bill | .. | 76 | 8 | 0 |
| (b) Patna Law Press Bill No. 390/45 dated 31-12-45 printing charges of Journal, September issue, 1945 | .. | 296 | 11 | 0 |
| (c) Himalaya Press Bill No. 819, dated 12-3-45 printing charges of annual meeting papers | .. | 42 | 12 | 0 |
| (d) Oriental Book Agency Bill No. 3720, dated 20-2-46, purchase of books | .. | 31 | 6 | 0 |
| (e) Messrs. Luzac & Co's Bills No. 10825, 10844, 10955 & 11210, purchase of books | .. | 148 | 11 | 6 |

4. Elected the following gentlemen as ordinary members of the Society:—

- (a) Saiyid Ahsan Shere, M. A., Curator, Patna Museum.
- (b) Pt. D. M. Mishra, Assistant Commissioner of Income-Tax, Patna.
- (c) Hari Ranjan Ghoshal, Esq, M. A., G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur.
- (d) Bhola Lall Das, Esq., B. A., Ll B, Editor, United Press, Patna.
- (e) Babu Javali Deva Prasad Sinha should be informed that he should be duly proposed and seconded before he is elected.
- (f) S. R. Ranganathan, Esq, Librarian, Hindu University, Benares.
- (g) B. Radha Krishna Chaudhuri, M. A., Beguserai, Monghyr.

5(a) Resolved that a reminder be sent to Government regarding the last letter on the subject of increasing the grant with a view to bringing the dearness allowance of the Society's employees on level with those of Government employees.

- (b) Resolved that, as a measure of some amount of interim relief, the Society grants Rs. 4 per month dearness allowance to office pandit, and Rs. 2 per month each to the two whole-time peons, with effect from April last for one year, pending reply of Government to Items(2) (b) and 5 (a) above.

6(a) Permission is given to Mr. Prahlad Pradhan to publish his work under reference,—either in the journal of the Bihar Research Society or in the Journal of the Visvabharati, and also to have photo-enlargements made locally through the Patna Museum, for the purposes of such publications.

- (b) The correspondence with Sir Richard Burn, Kt., was laid on the table and approved by the Council.

- (c) The Secretary is authorised to settle terms of publication of the documents being used by the Bombay and Poona Scholars and he is to refer to Mr. Godbole for helping in bringing about such a settlement of the terms.
- (d) Resolved that the Society accept Dr. Bagchi's proposals on behalf of the Visvabhāratī, for collaboration generally and suggests to him that for the present the printing and publishing of the texts may mostly be done in the Viśvabhāratī Journal or Bulletins, that the publications be under the joint auspices of the Bihar Research Society and the Visvabhāratī, and that 500 copies of each publication be made over to the Bihar Research Society for its use.
- (e) The correspondence ending with the last letter of Government sanctioning appointment of the Tibetan Scholar (Geshey Zangpo) and the intimation to the said scholar of those orders, was laid on the table and approved of by the Council.
- 7(a) Resolved that monthly Public educative Lectures be arranged at Lady Stephenson Hall or Sinha Library Hall, with effect from this August.
- 7 b) The Scheme of Cultural Reconstruction was explained and circulated for study and opinion.
- 8(a) Justice Sinha will kindly get the strength and suitability of the galleries examined by a Superintending Engineer (like Mr. Bahl).
- (b) If the Report is favourable, the Society is to approach Government for a special grant for steel almirahs.
- (c) Finally Government is to be requested to provide for more space by building extensions or fresh buildings.
- 9. No change for the present in the press was thought necessary.
- 10. Read and recorded Mr. Russell's letter, dated 10-2-1946.

11. Resolved that the request of the Librarian, Connemara Public Library, made in his letter dated 13-3-46 cannot be acceded to. Back numbers of the Journal from i-xiv may be obtained by purchase.

12. Resolved that the American Journal of Philology of John Hopkins University be placed on our exchange list.

13. Passed the Revised Budget for 1946—47 and the Budget Estimate for 1947=48.

S. C. SARKAR,

Honorary General Secretary.

6-8-1946.

14. Resolved that a whole set of the back issues of the Society's Journal be given on loan for one year to the Curator, Patna Museum.

REPORT.

Re. Item(10) of the Bihar Research Society Council proceedings dated 3-2-1946:—

Bhikṣu Nagarjuna worked rather irregularly, with considerable gap for a few weeks, on the photographs of the *Sarāpāda*—*Dohā* texts in our Album, and submitted to me a tentative reading of them. * After that he did not appear again. He seems to be working full time as translator to a local Hindi Press and Publishing firm,—and has got no time for this kind of work.

On the whole I got the impression that by himself he is not up to undertaking Tibetan or Pali research or cataloguing or deciphering works, but under guidance might prove useful. Since however he cannot be relied upon for continuous and steady works, it being necessary for him to earn his living by diverse other ways, it is not much use trying to reform him and win him over to research work or train him for it,—specially as there is hardly any chance of Government giving him a Research Scholarship of Rs. 100 a month for his qualifying for advanced work beyond his rudimentary knowledge of Tibetan, Pali and Apabhramśa.

I conclude that a *bona fide* Tibetan Scholar of higher standard has to be looked for.

S. C. SARKAR.

* *N.B.*— I am comparing this reading with H.P. Sastri's Collection of *Sarahā* Poems, and may publish a critical edition in the Journal of the Bihar Research Society.

S. C. SARKAR.

Annual Account of the Bihar Research Society for 1945-46.

372

NOTIES OF THE QUARTER

[J.B.R.S

EXPENDITURE.

INCOME.

Heads.	Actuals.	Revised Budget.	Heads.	Actuals.	Revised Budget.
Government Grants:—					
Library	1,000 0 0	Library ..	..	1,389 13 9
Establishment	1,000 0 0	Establishment ..	..	1,560 0 0
Journal	1,600 0 0	Living allowance ..	..	304 0 0
			Journal ..	..	1,314 1 5
Postage Recovered	40 15 0	Postage ..	..	205 8 0
Subscription	1,410 6 0	Stationery ..	..	26 8 3
Sale Proceeds of Journal	1,862 2 0	Electrical Charges ..	..	98 13 9
Miscellaneous	69 2 0	Miscellaneous ..	..	246 14 6
Interest on Pub. Acct.	107 15 0			
Huthwa Fund	16 8 0			
Darbhangha Fund	19 12 0			
Opening Balance:—			Closing Balance:—		6,333 5 9
Huthwa Fund	232 10 6	Hathwa Fund ..	..	249 2 6
Darbhangha Fund	411 2 3	Darbhangha Fund ..	..	430 14 3
Mayurbhanj	210 14 9½	Mayurbhanj ..	..	210 14 9½
Tibetan Account	503 9 9	Tibetan Account ..	..	503 9 9
General Balance	6,774 14 2½	General Balance ..	..	9,646 0 2½
Total	15,259 15 6	Total ..	..	15,259 15 6
		12,783 3 6			12,783 3 6

6,333 5 9

पिण्याक 18. 15
 पिप्पल 14. 24
 पिप्पली 2. 11
 पिप्पलीमूल 10. 33
 पियाल 7. 2, 15; 23. 270
 पिशाचद्रु 14. 28
 पिशाचिका 1. 30
 पिशित 23. 119
 पिष्ट 6. 17
 पिष्टक 20. 78
 पिष्टपायस 20. 14
 पीठ 22. 34
 पीडा 23. 218
 पीतकाष्ठ 1.42
 पीतघोषा 17. 25
 पीततैला 9. 4
 पीतदारु 1.15
 पीतद्रु 1.18;3.31;14.33 fn.
 पीतपर्णी 15.33
 पीतपुष्प 10.13
 पीतपुष्पक 12.5
 पीतपुष्पा 7.43;12.17
 पीतमुखो 1 34 fn.
 पीतमुख्या 1.34 fn.
 पीतरस 13.3
 पीतरोहिणी 3.18
 पीतवर्णिनी 13. 12 fn.
 पीतवास 13.3 fn.
 पीतशाल 14.42 fn.
 पीतसार 1.13
 पीतसाल 14.42
 पीतस्फटिक 5.12
 पीता 13.12

पीतिका 13.11
 पीयूष 21.36
 पीलु 23 10 fn.
 पीलुपर्णी 7.35;14.34
 पुच्छफल 8.29
 पुष्पदल 9.8
 पुष्पपत्रिका 10.40 fn.
 पुटलौह 6.11
 पुण्ड 3.3
 पुण्डरि 3.38
 पुण्डरी 5 13.21
 पुण्डर्य 3.37
 पुण्डुर 9.15 fn.
 पुण्ड्र 3.3 fn.; 7.27
 पुण्ड्रक 11.15
 पुत्रश्रेणी 10.39
 पुनर्नवा 9.17
 पुनर्भव 23.128
 पुन्नाग 11.41
 पुंमुख 23.133
 पुर 4.2,27
 पुरातन 23.228
 पुरीष 23.127,234
 पुरुष 11.41
 पुरुष 11.4
 पुरोन्यस्त 22. 30
 पुष्कर 2.23;6.46;13.17;22.42
 पुष्कराह 20.65
 पुष्करिणी 21.16
 पुष्टतुम्बी 12. 12 fn.
 पुष्टा 12.12 fn.

पुष्प 23.136, 140, 141, 146
 पुष्पकाशीस 15.40
 पुष्परस 7.32; 23.227
 पुष्पराग 5.1, 12, 22
 पुष्पराज 5.12 fn.
 पुष्पशाक 11.8 fn.
 पुष्पाञ्जन 6.23
 पुग 7.2, 16
 पूजा 22.68
 पूना 3.24
 पूतशाक 11.8 fn.
 पूतास्थि 20.60
 पूतिक 10.48
 पूतिकट्या 1.37
 पूतिकरज 10.48 fn.
 पूतिकरञ्ज 10.48 fn.
 पूतिका 9.3 fn.
 पूतिगन्ध 23.46
 पूतिगन्धि 1.3, 37
 पूतिपल्लव 12.9 fn.
 पूतिपल्लवा 12.9
 पूतिपुष्प 14.35
 पूतिपुष्पिका 8.10
 पूतिफल 3.13
 पूतिमुख्या 1.34
 पूतिवल्ग्व 12.9 fn.
 पूतिवात 7.20
 पूतिवृक्ष 14.29
 पूतिशाक 11.8
 पूतीक 10.48 fn.
 पूतीकरञ्ज 10.48 fn.

पूष 20, 2, 78
 पूर 8.31
 पूरक 8.31
 पूर्वाम 20.22
 पृथक्पर्णी 10.25
 पृथगालु 13.30
 पृथवालु 13.30 fn.
 पृथिवी 23.5, 7
 पृथु 2.6
 पृथुक 20.23
 पृथुबीजक 18.10
 पृथुरोमन् 20.69
 पृथ्विका 2.5 fn.
 पृथ्वी 23.7
 पृथ्वीका 2.5; 23.246
 पृथिनपर्णी 10.25
 पृषत् 23.71
 पृषत 23.71
 पृष्टास्थि 23, 123
 पेच 20.55
 पेटिका 10.31
 पेटो 10, 2
 पेय 20.5
 पेयवर्ग 21.44
 पेया 13.36; 20.8
 पेयाशान्ति 13.36
 पेशी 1.28 fn.
 पेषित 23.200
 पेसी 1.28
 पैटर 23.121
 पैत्त 18.14 fn.

- पैत्र 18.14
 पोटगल 16.9,21
 पोटगलक 16.1
 पोटगला 16.9 fn.
 पोटगल 16.21 fn.
 पोर्दका 9.3,25
 पौर 13.18 fn.; 23.256
 पौरुष 23.165,215
 पौलि 20.77
 पौष्कर 2.23 fn.; 6.46 fn.
 पौष्प 21.34
 प्रकल्पना 23.198
 प्रकारिन् (?) 11.25 fn.
 प्रकाश 23.78
 [प्रकीर्णक] 22.36
 प्रकीर्य 10.4,48
 प्रकुञ्च 23.221
 प्रकुञ्चक 23.175
 प्रकोष्ठकरवित्ति 23.162
 प्रग्रह 14.10
 प्रच्छदपट 22.12
 प्रजा 23.217
 प्रजापति 23.260
 प्रणालक 9.29
 प्रणीत 20.74
 प्रतानिनी 23.139
 प्रतिबिम्ब 23.76
 प्रतिविषा 3.20
 प्रतुद् 20.28,32
 प्रत्यक्पुष्पी 10.29
 प्रत्यक्भ्रंशी 10.39
 प्रत्यन्त 23.29
 प्रत्यवसान 20.60
 प्रदीप 22.61
 प्रदीपन 6.42
 प्रपद् 22.91
 प्रपन्नाड 9.32
 प्रपणी 15.37 fn.
 प्रपुन्नाड 9.32 fn.
 प्रपौण्डरीक 3.37,38
 प्रबोध 22.55
 प्रभञ्जन 23.41
 प्रभा 23.78
 प्रभ्रष्टक 22.30
 प्रमदवन 22.50
 प्रयोजन 23.6
 प्ररोह 23.142,152
 प्ररोहा 3.42
 प्रयात 23.66,77
 प्रवाल 5.1,9; 23.145
 प्रवालक 5.22
 प्रशस्त 20.74
 प्रसम्ना 23.101
 प्रसह 20.29,33
 प्रसहा 10.22
 प्रसाधन 22.46
 प्रसारणी 10.46
 प्रसून 23.146
 प्रसूनक 23.150
 प्रसूनधि 23.152
 प्रसूत 23.176
 प्रस्तर 21.21

प्रस्तरोपल 5.14 fn.

प्रस्थ 21.22; 23.157, 179, 244

प्रस्थान 22.57

प्रस्तवण 21.24

प्रस्तवोपल 5.14

प्रस्ताव 23.109

प्रहि 21.19

प्राचीना 10.6

प्राचीनामलक 8.13

प्राच्य 13.3

प्राण 23.258

प्राणप्रिया 3.49

प्राणिन् 23.114

प्रादेश 23.159

प्रायोपवेश 22.67

प्रातम्ब 22.31

प्रावरण 22.14

प्रावृष् 23.69

प्रावृषायणी 9.17

प्रावृषेय 11.21

प्रिय 3.45

प्रियक 14.42

प्रियङ्गु 3.22

प्रियङ्गुक 19.5

प्रियसाल 14.9

प्रिया 3.22

प्रेक्षा 22.70

प्रेतराक्षसी 10.41

मत्त 14.4, 44

मत्तेश 15.6 fn.

सव 20.57

सवङ्ग 20.47

सीद्ग्री 16.3, 20

सीद्गशत्रु 14.13

सीद्हारि 14.1

फलपत्रिका 10.40

फलिका 15.20

फलपत्रिका 10.40 fn.

फणिज्भक्त 11.29

फणिन् 20.58

फल 3.63; 23.136, 138, 141, 150,
(ग्राम) 151, (शुष्क) 151, 206, 220,
238

फलपूरक 8.30

फलादन (?) 8.27 fn.

फलाधम 8.27

फलानालु 13.34

फलालु 13.27, 31

फलित (-ची?) 3.2

फलितनी 3.22; 13.14fn.; 23.140

फली 3.22

फलेपाकिन् 8.28; 15.5

फलेरुहा 11.31

फलुगु 14.2, 20

फाण्ट 23.197, 204

फाल 22.11

फाल्गुन 23.241

फुल्ल 23.149

फेन 4.21; 22.62

फेनक 22.86

फेला 20.4

- बक 20.36,66
 बकपुष्प 11.19
 बकुल 11.4,43
 बदर 8.26
 बदरा 15.23
 बदरिच्छद 17.28
 बदरी 8.26
 बदल 8.26
 बन्धुक 11.27
 बन्धुजीव 11.27
 बन्धूक 11.3
 बन्धर्व 1.13;2.32
 बहि [-ह?] 20.43
 बहिण 20.40
 बहिन् 20.40
 बहिष्ठ 6.9;11.26
 बहिस् 16.31
 बल 23.258
 बलभद्रिका 3.11 fn.
 बला 7.4,42;17.22 fn.
 बलाहक 23.72
 बलिभुज् 20.54
 बल्य 15.14
 बल्या 15.26
 बहतवस्तुस् 10.8 fn.
 बहुदुग्ध 18.23
 बहुपत्र 6.25
 बहुपत्री 13.13
 बहुपाद 14.6
 बहुपत्री 13.13 fn.
 बहुप्रज 13.32
 बहुप्रिय 18.25
 बहुफल 19.8
 बहुमल 6.17
 बहुमूल 16.22
 बहुलपुष्प 10.8
 बहुला 1.23;20.12
 बहुलिङ्ग 16.30
 बहुलिङ्गा 16.30 fn.
 बहुवारक 7.10
 बहुशर्कर 23.31
 बहुसुता 7.37
 बहुन्ना 20.12 fn.
 बाण 10.1,12;16.18
 बादर 22.11
 बाल 23.254
 बालतनय 4.18
 बालमूषिका 20.53
 बालेय 2.15
 बाल्य 15.14 fn.; 23.234
 बाल्या 15.14 fn,
 बाहु 23.164
 बाहुयुद 22.87
 बाह्लिक 6.21 fn.
 बाह्लीक 1.27;4.24;6.21 fn.
 बिडाल 20.52
 बिडालपदक 23.173
 बिम्बभृत् 22.25
 बिम्बिका 7.36
 बिम्बी 7.36
 बिलस्थ 20.29
 बिलेशय 20.34

बिज्ञक 6.44
 बिल्लिक 6.44 fn.
 बिल्व 7.2,19;23.10 fn , 175,220
 बिस 23.226
 बीज 23.126
 बीजकोष 23.150
 बीजाकृत 23.24
 बुद्धीन्द्रिय 23.86
 बृहती 10.18,20,21
 बृहत्कारा 16.9 fn.
 बृहत्कास 16.9
 बृहत्त्रय 14.8
 बृहत्पुष्पी 16.24
 बृहत्फला 8. 4;12.12
 बृहद्धान्य 18.26;19.16
 बोधनिका 3.50
 बोधि 14.24
 ब्रह्मचारिणी 9.9;15.21 fn.
 ब्रह्मतीर्थक 2.23
 ब्रह्मदर्भा 2.7
 ब्रह्मद्रुम 23.17
 ब्रह्मन् 23.21 fn.
 ब्रह्मपुत्र 6.42
 ब्रह्मवृक्ष 14.38,21 fn.
 ब्रह्माण्णी 3.8
 ब्रह्माण्ड 12.5
 ब्रह्मादनी 17.32 fn
 ब्रह्मी 9.10
 ब्रह्मोदनी 17.32 fn.
 ब्राह्मणी 3.8 fn.;15.21
 ब्राह्मी 9.9;15.2,21;23.92

ब्राह्मोदनी 17.32
 ब्राह्म्य 23.17
 भक्त 20.1,3
 भक्तविकार 20.1
 भक्तसमुष्कित 20.4
 भक्षण 23.107
 भक्ष्य 20.5
 भग 25.87,88
 भट्टि 23.121
 भण्टाकी 10.19,21
 भण्डाकी 10.19 fn.
 भद्रकाली 10.46
 भद्रदार 1.15,17
 भद्रनामक 16.12 fn.
 भद्रनामिका 3.11
 भद्रमल्ली 11.12
 भद्रमुस्त 2.16
 भद्रवल्ली 17.17
 भद्रवल्ली 11.12 fn.
 भद्रश्री 1.12
 भद्रसार 1.10
 भद्रा 3.7;7.11;14.20
 [भरंसहा 15.31]
 भर्मन् 6.7
 भज्जात 7.21
 भज्जातक 7.21
 भल्लुक 14.30;20.51
 भल्लूक 20.51
 [भव 15.31]
 भवंसहा 15.31
 भव्य 8.2,19

- भस्मक 3.9
 भस्मगन्धिनी 3.8 fn.
 भस्मन् 23.155
 भागीरथी 21.10
 भाजन 23.190,199,219
 भाण्ड 23.193
 भाद्रविक 19.6
 भारती 23.92
 भारद्वाजी 15.24
 भार्गव 23.269
 भार्गवी 16.5
 भार्गी 15.21
 भाषा 23.92
 भाष्य 22.63
 भिन्नवत्कल 13.33
 भिरमीष्टा 20.4
 भिषज् 23.186
 भिस्मा 20.3
 भिस्सटा 20.4 fn.
 भिस्सा 20.3 fn.
 भीरु 7.37
 भीरुपत्नी 7.38
 भीष्मसू 21.10
 भुज 23.63
 भुजग 20.58
 भुजङ्गभुज् 20.40
 भू 23.7,9,11,230,257,273
 भूकदम्ब 10.11
 भूत 23.1,5,13
 भूतकेशी 1.30 fn.;11.12 fn.;15.38
 भूतकेश्या 11.22
 भूतप्री 3.37;4.41
 भूतजटा 1.30
 भूतनाशन 7.22
 भूति 23.155
 भूतिक 2.9
 भूतिपुष्प 14.29
 भूदारक 20.61
 भूनिम्ब 3.19
 भूनीप 10.1
 भूपदी 11.10
 भूपलाश 14.40
 भूमि 23.7,15
 भूमिकुष्माण्ड 13.7
 भूमिजम्बुका 8.21
 भूमजम्बू 8.15
 भूमिसंख्या 23.35
 भूम्यामलकी 13.13.
 भूर्ज 14.1,14
 भूर्जपत्र 14.14
 भूर्तुण 2.25
 भृङ्ग 1.20;10.43;20.49;33.271
 भृङ्गजा 15.20 fn.
 भृङ्गराज 10.43
 भृङ्गार 1.46
 भृङ्गारपत्र 1.6
 भृङ्गारपत्रा 1.6 fn.
 भृत्य 23.189
 भेक 20.34,57
 भेकी 10.2,16
 भेषज 23.188
 भैरवि(-वी VŚ.) 2.32 fn.
 भैषज्य 23.188
 भोगिवत्तम 1.11

भोग्य 19.12	मण्डूकी 10.16
भोजनक 7.23	मण्डूर 6.13
भोजनार्ह 19.12	मत्त 23.108
भोज्य 20.5	मत्स्य 20.37, 69
भौतिकवर्ग 23.4	मत्स्यराज 20.70
भौमरत्न 5.9	मत्स्याक्षी 9.9
भौम्या 23.95	मथन 14.7 fn.
भ्रमर 20.49; 23.271	मथित 21.41
मकरन्द 7.32	मद् 1.33
मकरन्दज 1.41	मद्गन्धा 18.1
मकुन्दु 1.47	मद्ग्नो 9.28
मकुष्ठ 18.13	मदन 3.4, 63, 65; 23 244, 259
मकूलक 15.9	मदनक 11.35
मगधा 2.12 fn.	मदनाग्रक 19.10
मङ्गल्य 1.9; 7.20	मदनाङ्गुरा 23.89
मङ्गल्यक 18.10	मदनी 2.27
मङ्गल्या 2.8, 29; 4.22; 16.5, 16	मदयन्ती 11.11
मञ्जसार 1.32	मदस्थान 23.107
मञ्जा 23.115, 125, 142, 154	मदिरा 23.101
मञ्च 22.33	मद्य 23.101, 227; (-जाति) 23.102,, (-भेद) 102.
मञ्जरीक 11.29	मद्यप 23.108
मञ्जिष्ठा 3.14	मधु 7.3, 32; 23.227
मञ्जीर 22.24	मधुक 7.2, 17, 28fn.
मणि 5.3; 23.224	मधुकपुच्छिका 10.34 fn.
मणिकावर्त 5.17 fn.	मधुकर्कटी 8.11 fn.
मणिच्छिद्रा 3.47	मधुकुक्कुटी 8.11
मण्ड 19.18 fn.; 20.1, 19, 20, 21	मधुक्षर 18.9
मण्डचणक 18.3 fn.	मधुहृण 7.25 fn.
मण्डा 2.28	मधुद्रुम 7.28
मण्डूक 20.57	मधुनि 16.29
मण्डूकपर्णी 10.16	

मधुनिष्पाव 18.7	मनागुष्ण 21.29
मधुप 20.49	मनोगुप्ता 6.37
मधुपञ्जर 11.43	मनोज्ञ 1.15
मधुपर्णी 7.18; 10.14	मनोज्ञा 2.6 fn.; 6.36
मधुपिञ्जर 11.43 fn.	मनोज्ञा 6.37fn.
मधुपुष्प 7.28	मन्थान 14.7
मधुमन्दिर 23.146	मन्दाकिनी 21.8
मधुमाधुकी 23.104	मन्दार 10.9; 11.14
मधुयष्टि का 7.17	मन्दोष्ण 21.29
मधुर 23.82	मन्मथ 8.7
मधुरसा 7.5, 34	मन्यु 23.230
मधुरा 2.1, 8; 3.47; 8.11; 18.21	मय 22.78
मधुराकर 7.26	मयूख 23.267
मधुत्त 7.29; 19.9 fn.	मयूर 20.40
मधुलिका 7.35	मयूरक 10.29
मधुली 16.29 fn.	मयूराख्य 6.44
मधुशिमु 9.24	मरकत 5.18, 21
मधुश्रवा 10.47 fn.	मरालाङ्घ्रि 6.18
मधुस्तृण 7.25	मरिच 2.10, 13
मधुस्रवा 10.47	मरुत् 23.40, (घर्मद) 77
मधूक 7.3, 28	मरुत्प्राया 23.10
मधूलि 7.3 fn.; 16.4; 19.9	मरुप्राया 23.10 fn.
मधूलिका 7.35	मरुवक 9.11 fn.
मधूनी 19.9 fn.	मरुद्भवा 3.30
मध्यदेश 23.29	मर्कट 20.47
मध्यम 23.29	मर्कटी 17.6
मध्यमा 23.160	मर्दन 22.5
मध्वालु 13.27, 29	मल 18.15 fn.; 23.127, 195, 234
मध्वासव 23.104	मलच्युति 23.214
मनःशिला 6.36	मलपू 14.20
मनस् 23.86, 97	मलयज 1.10

महली 11.1
 मसूर 18.1,10
 मसूरा 17.17 fn.
 मस्तु 21.38 fn.
 महत् 19.2
 महाकन्द 13.15
 महाकपित्थाख्य 7.19
 महाकाल 17.23
 महाकाली 10.34 fn.
 म.।घोषा 3.5
 महाङ्ग 22.78
 महाजम्बु 8.4
 महाजाली 17.26
 महापत्र 15.7
 महापत्रा 8.14
 महापद्म 13.21
 महाफल 7.20
 महाबला 7.43;23.245
 महाभद्रा 7.12 fn.
 महाभूत 23.43,(नृण)51
 महामृग 20.29,35
 महामेदा 3.42,48
 महारत्न 5.21
 महारस 7.25
 महाराष्ट्री 16.13
 महार्ह 1.12
 महालाङ्घि(?)6.18 fn.
 महालोध्र 3.40
 महाशय 16.25
 महाशन 16.25 fn.
 महाशालि 19.15

महाश्यामा 17.16
 महाश्वेता 11.34;13.8
 महासर्ज 14.26
 महासदा 17.12
 महासम्बी 18.21
 महाह्रस्वा 15.37
 महिष 20.35,62
 महिषाक्ष 4.28
 महिषी 23.211
 मही 23.7
 महीफेण 4.3
 महीरुह 23.136
 महीलता 23.113
 महोज्ज्वल 22.61
 महोरग 3.36
 महोत्क 22.61
 महौषध 2.14
 मांस 23.115,119,221,279
 मांसी 1.28
 माक्षिक 4.7;6.4,40;7.32
 माक्षिकश्रेष्ठ 6.26
 माक्षिकश्रेष्ठा 6.26 fn.
 मागधी 2.11
 मागध्या 2.12
 माघ 23.60
 माघ्य 11.39
 माञ्जिना 6.54 fn.
 माञ्जिष्ठ 6.49 fn.
 माण 13.1,9
 माणिक्य 5.1,4,5,20
 माणिमन्थ 4.5

- मातङ्ग 20.60 fn.
 मातरिस्वन् 23.41
 मातुलङ्ग 8.30; 23.272
 मातुलुङ्ग 8.30 fn.
 मातुलुङ्गा 8.10
 मातृक 3.46
 मात्रा 23.63 (?), 180
 मादक 4.3; 23.259 fn.
 माधव 18.12
 माधविका 23.104
 [माधवी 11.12]
 माधवीलता 11.15
 माधुगिक 18.6; 23.98, 103
 मान 13.9fn.; 23.2, 156, 157, 158, 244
 मानव्यवस्था 23.186
 मानस 23.97, 223
 मानसौक्यस् 20.63
 मानिका 23.178
 मारुत 23.80
 मारेष्ट 1.20 fn.
 मार्कव 10.43; 23.271
 मार्क्ष^१ (VŚ माक्ष) 4.9 fn.
 मार्ग 22.56; 23.222
 मार्ग्य 23.117
 मार्जन 3.39; 22.7
 मार्जार 20.52
 मार्जारगन्धा 17.15
 माजिता 20.24
 माहिं 22.7
 मालती 11.5
 मालवोद्भव 1.31
 माला 22.1, 29
 मालावृण 2.2
 मालावृणक 2.25
 मालुर 7.20
 मालेय 1.23fn.
 मालेया 1.23
 माल्य 22.28, 29
 माष 18.18; 23.169
 माषक 18.1
 माषचतुष्टय 23.170
 माषपर्णी 17.12; 23.247
 माषरा 20.19
 मास 23.54, 59, 60, 63, 241
 मित्रपुष्पा 2.28
 मिषी 2.8
 मिष्ट 23.82
 मिसी 2.8 fn.
 मिहिका 1.6
 मोन 20.29, 69
 मुकुट 22.17
 मुकुर 22.1, 25
 मुकुलक 15.9 fn.
 मुक्त 16.18fn.
 मुक्ता 5.1, 3
 मुक्ताकलापक 22.19
 मुक्ताम्रस् 5.7
 मुक्तालता 22.19
 मुक्तावली 22.19
 मुल्लभङ्ग 9.23 fn.
 मुचलिन्द 3.65 fn.
 मुचिलिन्द 3.65 fn.

मुचुकुन्द 3.65

मुञ्ज 16.18

मुण्ड 19.18

मुण्डचणक 18.3

मुण्डातिका 7.40fn.; 23.263

मुण्डनी 9.28

मुण्डरिका 7.40

मुण्डितिका 7.40 fn.

मुण्डिनी 9.28fn.

मुद्ग 18.1; 23.28

मुद्गगन्धा 18.17 fn.

मुद्गपर्णी 17.14

मुद्गष्ठ 18.13

मुद्गही 17.14

मुद्रिका 22.21

मुनि 11.1

मुनिद्रुम 14.29; 23.270

मुनिपादप 11.8

मुनीष्ट 19.4

मुरा 1.26

मुषली 13.1, 14 fn.

मुष्क 16.7; 23.89

मुष्कक 16.1

मुष्टि 23.163, 175

मुस्त 2.15; 6.46; 23.222, 258

मुस्तक 2.15; 23.256

मुहूर्त 23.57

मुहूर्तक 23.53

मूत्र 23.109, 236

मूत्रक 22.98

मूर्ख 23.254

मूर्ति 23.48

मूर्धन् 22.29

मूर्वा 7.34

मूल 2.23; 13.2; 23.141, 143, 267

मूलक 13.25

मूलकमूला 15.14fn.

मूलकमूलाभ 15.14

मूलपर्णी 10.16

मूषातुथ 6.24

मूषिके 20.53

मूषिका 10.40

मृग 20.28, 30, 39; 23.14, 117

मृगदंश 20.48

मृगनाभि 1.33

मृगपर्यायनाम्न 8.29

मृगग्रिया 13.26

मृगबन्धनी 22.52

मृगमद 1.33

मृगया 21.3, 51

मृगरोमज 22.51

मृगव्य 22.11

मृगादन 20.52 fn.

मृगादनी 17.30; 18.21 fn.

मृगेन्द्र 20.50

मृगेर्वारु 17.30

मृजा 22.7

मृणाल 23.226

मृणालक 2.17

मृत्युपुष्प 7.25

मृत्ना 6.33

मृद 23.18

- मृदङ्ग 6.2, 16 fn.
 मृदङ्गा 12.16 fn.
 मृदुकण्टफला 12 8
 मृदुपुष्प 11.33
 मृदङ्ग 6.16
 मृदङ्गा 12.16
 मृद्विका 7.5fn.
 मृद्वीका 7.5
 मेकलकन्यका 21.12
 मेखला 22.23
 मेघ 6.3; 23.72
 मेघनाद 9.1.12
 मेघनादानुलासिन् 20.41
 मेघस्वनाङ्कुर 5.19
 मेघस्वराङ्कुर 5.19fn.
 मेघाख्य 2.15; 9.12
 मेचक 6.22; 9.23 fn.; 20.42
 मेढू 22.81; 23.88, 224
 मेढूशृङ्गी 10.8
 मेथिका 2.27
 मेथी 2.2, 27
 मेदस् 23.115, 122
 मेदा 3.43, 47
 मेदिनी 23.7
 मेध्य 18.24
 मेध्या 2.31
 मेष 22.81
 मेषक 10.1
 मेषविषाणिका 10.7
 मेषशृङ्ग 6.49 fn.
 मेषशृङ्गी 10.7
 मेहघ्नी 13.12
 मेहन 23.88, 109, 236
 मैथुन 22.59
 मैरेय 23.106
 मोक्ष (VS माक्ष) 4.9 fn.
 मोच 7.1; 14.4
 मोचक 9.23
 मोवरस 4.4
 मोचा 7.6
 मोची 14.41
 मोदक 23.259
 मोददायिनी 11.5
 मोदयन्ती 11.11
 मोरट 14.34; 23.216
 मोहनी 11.12 fn., 34fn.
 मोहिनी 3 7fn.; 9.28fn.; 11.10, 12fn.
 मौक्तिक 5.6, 20
 मौक्तिकसंपुट 5.7
 मौद्ग 20.18
 मौद्गिका 17.14 fn.
 मौद्गीन 23.28
 मौर्वी 17.1, 10
 मौलिकेशप्रसाधनी 22.46
 मुच्छदेश 22.29
 मुच्छभोजन 18.23
 मुच्छाख्य 6.1fn., 9 fn.
 मुच्छाख्य 6.1, 9
 यक्षधूप 4.23
 यक्षधूप 4.23 fn.
 यक्षाङ्ग 14.21
 यमानिका 2.9

- यमानी 2.1,9
 यमुना 21.11
 यव 18.2,24,25;20.23;23.26
 यवक्षार 4.13
 यवतिका 17.18
 यवन 18.22
 यवनेष्ट 13.16
 यवयवागुक्ता 20.13
 यवशुक्त 20.7
 यवागु 20.12 fn.,15
 यवागु 20.12
 यवोप्रज 4.13
 यवास 3.28
 यव्य 23.26
 यष्टिका 15.21
 यष्टिमधुका 7.17 fn.
 यष्टीमधुका 7.17 fn.
 याज्ञिक 16.31
 यात्रा 22.57
 यादस् 20.72
 यान 22.69,71,231
 याप्ययान 22.70
 याव 4.26
 यावक 18.20
 यावन 18.27
 यावनभक्त 20.7
 यावशूक 4.12,13
 यास 3.28
 युक्त 11.27 fn.
 युक्तरसा 3.55,57
 युक्ता 3.55
 युक्तियुक्त 1.36
 युग 23.54,64
 युगल 23.235
 युग्म 22.69
 युग्मपत्र 11.64;23.265
 युग्मफला 17.33
 युग्य 22.69
 युद्ध 23.238
 यूक 11.2,20
 युधि 11.4
 यूधिका 11.42
 यूष 20.1,17,18
 योग्य 23.219
 योजनपर्णी 3.14
 योनि 23.88
 यौवत 23.156,166
 रक्त 3.4,62;6.9,18,27,29fn.;9.24;13.
 22fn.;19.18;23.115,118,210
 रक्तक 6.49 fn.;11.27
 रक्तकैरव 13.25
 रक्तचन्दन 3.61
 रक्तधातु 6.29
 रक्तपाकी 10.22fn.
 रक्तपुष्प 8.5;11.24
 रक्तपुष्पा 13.36
 रक्तफला 7.26
 रक्तयष्टिका 3.15
 रक्तराजिक 18.8
 रक्तलोध्र 3.39
 रक्तवृन्ता 11.22
 रक्तशालि 19.19

रक्तशीर्षक 1.39	रम्भा 7.6;23.138
रक्तशृङ्गक 6.49 fn.	रत्नक 22.12
रक्तसरोरुह 13.22	रत्नवण 23.181
रक्ताङ्ग 6.35 fn.	रव 23.50
रक्ताङ्गी 6.35	रस 1.36,40;4.25;6.5;23.1,6,63,81, 199,273,279
रक्तारि 16.13	रसगन्ध 16.15 fn.
[रक्ति] 23.169	रसच्छिद्रा 3.48 fn.
रक्तिका 10.3,37;23.167	रसज्ञा 23.95
रक्तोत्पल 13.22	रसना 22.23;23.93
रक्षोघ्नी 2.30	रसनेष्ट 7.26
रक्षोभूतपिशाचघ्न 9.36	रसव्यक्तीकर 23.191
रङ्ग 6.16	रसा 3.47,55 fn.
रजक 23.200	रसाग्रज 6.20
रजत 6.1,8	रसाञ्जन 6.20
रजनी 13.11	रसान्नी 18.5 fn.
रजस् 22.64	रसायनी 9.20
रञ्जन 3.62	रसाल 7.26;8.6
रञ्जनी 13.12	रसाला 20.24
रञ्जिनी 13.12fn.	रसाली 18.5
रटक 20.33	रसाह 1.40
रत 22.59	रसून 13.14 fn.
रत्न 5.2,3,24	रसेन्द्र 18.19 fn.
रत्नभेद 23.264	रक्षोदर 6.18
रत्नाकर 21.6	रसोन 13.1
रथ 8.23fn.;22.71,72	रसोनक 13.15
रथाङ्ग 9.2	रस्या 3.55 fn.
रथाङ्गी 9.2 fn.	रहस्य 23.229
रद 23.131	राग 20.27;23.279
रदन 23.131	राङ्गव 22.11
रन्धन 23.191	राच 3.63
रन्ध्र 23.63	

राजकुलक 12.15

राजकुलिक 12.15 fn.

राजकोशात्की 17.25fn.

राजघोषातकी 17.25

राजजम्बु 8.14

राजधान्य 19.13

राजन् 10.3; 17.25fn.; 22.49

राजमाष 18.1, 19

राजवृक्ष 14.10

राजशाक 9.6

राजशालिक 19.13 fn.

राजशुषरी 12.9fn.

राजशूकक 19.13

राजशूकज 19.13 fn.

राजसदन 22.40

राजसुषवी 12.9; 14.38

राजहंस 20.64

राजादन 7.13, 15

राजार्क 11.14

राजावर्त 5.2, 17

राजिका 9.37

राजीव 13.20

राठ 3.63fn.; 23.259

रात्रिनामिका 13.12

रात्री 13.1

रामकन्द 14.37

रामठ 4.24

रामदूतिका 15.12

रामेष्ट 1.20

राल 4.23

रालव (?) 20.14fn.

राशि 23.181

राष्ट्रक 5.19

राष्ट्रिका 10.21

राष्ट्री 16.2, 13

रासभ 22.79

रास्ना 3.4, 55, 57; 23.252

राहु 23.237

रीति 6.2, 14

रुक्म 6.7

रुक्क 4.9; 23.131, 272

रुचि 23.78

रुच्य 8.29

रुच्या 9.22

रुच्याख्य 8.1

रुधिर 23.118, 208

रुवु 15.30

रुवुक 15.3, 29

रुहा 16.5

रुक्षणात्मिका 18.5

रुक्षिका 11.13 fn.

रुचक 4.9 fn.

रुचिका 11.13fn.

रूप 23.6, 48

रूपिका 11.13

रूप्य 6.8fn.

रुसक (+रुषक) 10.17 fn

रेचक 15.15 fn.

रेचकी 15.15

रेणु 22.65

रेणुका 3.1, 8

रेतस 23.126, 215, 269

रेतोनिधानक 23.125

रेवा 21.12

रोगशिला 6.37 fn.

रोगहारिन् 23.186

रोगिन् 23.185

रोचक 7.7fn.

रोचना 4.22

रोचनिका 6.35

रोचनी 4.22 fn.

रोदन 22.83

रोदनी 3.29

रोमक 4.6

रोमन् 23.133

रोमलवण 4.6

रोहिणिका 3.17fn.

रोहिणी 3,7;23.213

रोहित 20.37,70

रोहितक 14.13

रोहीतक 14.13 fn.

रौप्यक 6.8

रौहिष 13.18

लकुच 8.27

लक्त 4.26 fn.

लक्ष्मण 14.44 fn; 23.224

लक्ष्मण 14.44

लक्ष्मी 22.36

लगणा 10.13 fn.

लघु 1.8, 43

लघुपात्री 19.6

लघुमांसी 1.30

लङ्का 18.5

लङ्कारसाली 18.5fn.

लट्वा 20.32

लता 1.43;11.15;23.139

लतावृद्धिका 10.22

लतिका 1.34

ललामक 22.30

लव 1.46

लवङ्ग 1.4.45

लवण 4.1,7,10;23.81,83

लवणी 9.13

लवणोत्तम 4.5

लवनी 8.18fn.

लवली 8.3,18

लशुन 13.15 fn.

लशून 13.15

लसान्द्र 18.19 fn.

लसिका 23.153

लाक्षा 4.2,26;23.263

लाङ्गलिका 6.50

लाङ्गलिन् 7.8

लाङ्गली 6.48

लाङ्गुल 19.8 fn.

लाङ्गूली 10.25

लाज 20.22

लाञ्छुल 19.8

लाञ्छन 19.8 fn.

लाम 23.238

लामज्जक 2.17

लालावती 9.22 fn.

लाव 23.11

लावु 12.12

- लिङ्ग 8.3, 27
 लिङ्ग 23.87, 89, 224
 लिङ्गाग्र 23.224
 लिङ्गाक 8. 12
 लुलाप 20.62
 लेख 7.14
 लेखक 23.209
 लेख्यपत्र 7.14 fn.
 लेख्य 20.5
 लोचन 23.96
 लोभ 3.3, 39
 लोभन् 23.133
 लोभनी (?) 11.34
 लोभश 13.29
 लोभशब्द 14.16
 लोभशपणिनी 17.13 fn.
 लोभशा 1.29
 लोभशी 11.34 fn.
 लोह 6.10; 23.108
 लोहकान्तक 6.12
 लोहत्र 9.2
 लोहद्राविन् 4.15
 लोहमारक 9.15
 लोहाख्य 1.8
 लोहित 13.16; 14.13; 15.39; 18.8; 23.118.
 लोहितक 5.4
 लोहितश्रुतिका 6.29
 लोह 6.10. fn.
 लोहकिट्ट 6.13
 वंश 23.257
 वंशजा 4.17
 वंशतण्डुल 19.7
 वंशधान्य 19.7
 वंशलोचना 4.17
 वंशोत्थ 19.1
 वक्रपुष्प 14.38fn.
 वङ्ग 6.2 fn, 16
 वङ्गमल 6. 17fn.
 वचन 22.84
 वचनकृत् 9.1
 वचा 2.2, 29, 31; 23.240
 वज्र 5.15, 20; 23.73, 231
 वज्रक 6.49
 वज्रनिस्वन 23.73
 वज्रवल्ली 17.34
 वज्रवृत्त 15.19
 वज्रुल 8.23; 11.40
 वट 14.5
 वटक 23.171
 वटिकाशिरस् 10.33 fn.
 वतंस 22.27
 वत्सक 3.53
 वत्सकशटक 10.36
 वत्सनाभ 6.45
 वत्सर 23.61, 62, 23.2, 233
 वत्सादनी 10.14
 वत्सादिनी 10.14 fn.
 वन 22.49; 23-37, 225
 वनकार्पासी 15.24
 वनकोद्वय 19.11
 वनप्रिय 20.45

वनभद्रिका 3.11 fn.
 वनमल्लिका 11.7 fn.
 वनमालिका 11.7
 वनमुद्ग 18.13
 वनलोत 13.32fn.
 वनशृङ्गाट 10.28
 वनस्पति 23.135,140
 वनालु 13.32
 वनेक्षुद्रा 8.17
 वनेसर्ज 14.26
 वनोद्भव 7.33 fn.
 वनोद्भवा 7.33;13.36;15.24
 वन्दाक 23.250
 वन्य 17.22
 वन्यधान्यक 19.4
 वपन 23.23
 वपा 23.122
 वप्र 23.256
 वयःस्था 3.24 fn.
 वयस् 23.234
 वयस्था 1.24;3.24,27;9.9
 वरक 18.5
 वरतिक 14.13
 वरदा 15.23 fn.
 वरपण 15.14 fn.
 वरलब्ध 11.6
 वरा 3.2,23;10.6,74 fn.
 वराङ्ग 1.20
 वरामु 8.17
 वराह 12.4;20.61
 वरिष्ठ 6.9 fn.

वरी 7.3,37
 वरुण 14.1,12
 वर्चस् 23.127,226
 वर्णकरा 18.16 fn.
 वर्णार्ह 18.11
 वर्णिनी 13.12
 वर्त 5.12
 वर्तलोह 6.11
 वर्तलौह 6.11 fn.
 वतिका 20.31
 वतिनी 17.10. fn.
 वर्ती 22.45
 वतुल 9.8. fn.
 वर्त्मचालन 23.45
 वर्त्मन् 22.56;23.222
 वर्धमान 15.29
 वर्धिष्णु 3.50
 वर्या 18.16
 वर्ष 23.69,233,258
 वर्षण 23.65,69
 वर्षणोपल 23.75
 वर्षपाकिन् 8.28
 वर्षा 21.34;23.69
 वर्षाभू 9.17;20.57
 वलथ 22.20
 वलाका 23.13
 वलानालु 13.22
 वलि 6.34
 वल्क 23.142, [154]
 वल्कल 25.154
 वल्गुजा 3.12

वल्लरी 2.8
 वल्लव (?) 3.46 fn.
 वल्लवी 2.28 fn.
 वल्ला 18.16 fn.
 वल्लो 23.139
 वल्लुर 3.46
 वल्लूर 23.120
 वशिर 10.4 fn., 49 fn.
 वशीर 10.49
 वसन 22.8
 वसा 23.122, 130
 वसिर 10.4
 वसीर 10.49 fn.
 वसु 23.63
 वसुक 1.9; 4.6; 11.13, 20
 वसुच्छिद्रा 3.48
 वसुमतो 23.8
 वसुहट्टक 11.20
 वस्त्र 22.1, 8; 23.219
 वस्त्रवेशमन् 22.15
 वस्त्राख्य 1.22
 वस्त्राङ्क 1.22 fn.
 वहा 3.55
 वहि 9.2; 23.38, 63, 269
 वहिनामन् 7.22; 9.16
 वहिमन्थ 14.7
 वहिशिला 6.51
 वांशी 4.1, 17
 वाकुची 3.12 fn.
 वागुषी 3.12
 वागुरा 22.52
 वाक् 23.85, 92, 230

वाजिगन्धा 15.25
 वाजिदन्त 10.17
 वाजिन् 22.77; 23.229
 वाटी 16.22
 वाद्यपुष्प 7.42
 वाद्यालक 7.42
 वाण 23.229, 240
 वाणी 23.92
 वातनाशनी 14.23 fn.
 वातपोत 14.39
 वातपोथ 14.39 fn.
 वातायु 20.39
 वातारि 15.30
 वातिङ्गन 12.2, 11
 वातिङ्गिन 12.11 fn.
 वान 23.151
 वानप्रस्थ 14.39
 वानर 20.47
 वानरप्रिय 7.13
 वानीर 8.23
 वापिका 21.1
 वापी 21.18
 वाप्य 2.22
 वामन 7.7
 वामनी 16.25
 वायस 20.54
 वायसानी 16.29
 वायसाली 16.29 fn.
 वायसी 9.20
 वायसेक्षु 16.27
 वायु 23.5, 41, 209

वार 21.25
 वारण 20.60 fn.; 22.76
 वारणवुशा 7.6 fn.
 वारणवुषा 7.6 fn.
 वारणवुसा 7.6
 वारि 23.5,36
 वारिक्रीडन 22.87
 वारिज 1.46
 वारिपर्णी 16.23
 वारिप्रवाह 21.24
 वारुणी 23.101,102
 वार्ताकी 10.21;12.11
 वार्षिक 11.17
 वाल 11.26;20.35(?);23.132
 वालक 6.49fn.
 वालव्यजन 22.36
 वालुक 6.45
 वालेयक 22.79
 वाल्मीक 6.21
 वासक 10.2,17fn.
 वासन्त 18.12
 वासन्तिका 11.1
 वासन्ती 11.15,42
 वासस् 22.8
 वासा 10.17
 वासुक (?) 11.17 fn.
 वास्तु 9.1;12.7
 वास्तुक 9.6
 वास्तुकालिङ्ग 12.7 fn.
 वास्तुकालिन्ध 12.7fn.
 वास्तूक 9.6
 वास्तवावसदने (?) 23.220

वाहद्विषत् 20.62
 वाहन 22.62,69
 वाहप्रिय 18.25 fn.
 विकङ्कत 7.18
 विकषा 3.14 fn.
 विकास 3.14
 विकसित 23.148
 विकस्वर 23.149
 विकीरण 11.13
 विकृत 23.187
 विग्रह 23.238
 विग्रप्रिय 20.13
 विज्ञया 2.29;10.1,10;7.42 fn.
 विजित 20.75
 विज्जल 1.20fn.
 विज्जुल 1.20 fn.
 विहज्ज्वल 1.20
 विट 4.8
 विटप 23.232
 विटपिन् 23.137
 विटप्रिय 22.86
 विट्खदिर 4.20
 विहङ्ग 3.10
 विहङ्गन्ध 4.8
 विहङ्गन्धि 4.8 fn.
 विहलवण 4.8
 वितस्ति 23.161
 वितान 22.2,43
 वितानक 2.26
 वितानमूल 2.18
 वितुम् 9.8

विदग्ध 23.42fn.
 विदल 20.16;23.138
 विदला 17.17 fn.
 विदलित 23.149
 विदारिका 13.7
 विदारिगन्धा 10.23
 विदारी 13.1,6
 विदारीकन्दक 23.250
 विदाह 23.82
 विदुल 4.24;8.23.24
 विद्युत् 23.74
 विद्रुम 5.9
 विनया 7.42
 विन्दु 23.71
 विपाक 23.190
 विपाण्डरा 3.48
 विपाण्डुरा 3.48fn.
 विप्रुष् 23.71
 विभीत 23.276
 विभीतक 3.26
 विभूषण 22.16
 विभीतकी 3.26 fn.
 विमल 6.26
 विमला 6.3,26fn.
 वियत् 23.42
 वियद्गङ्गा 21.8
 विरण 2.18fn.
 विलला 17.42 fn.
 विलेपो 20.11
 विलचिनप्राह 23.48
 विलोडित 21.40
 विवरोत्थित 21.17

विशाल्यकृत् 14.40
 विशाल्या 15.10
 विशाखा 23.207
 विशालत्वच् 24.18
 विशालपत्र 13.9
 विशाला 17.30
 विशेषक 22.26
 विश्व 2.14
 विश्वदेवा 3.59;16.19
 विश्वभेषज 2.14
 विश्वरूपक 1.9
 विश्वेदेवा 16.19 fn.
 विष 6.4,41,47
 विषघ्नी 10.35
 विषदंष्ट्रा 17.37
 विषधृक् 20.58
 विषपुष्प 3.64
 विषमच्छद 14.18
 विषमवलकल 8.9
 विषमूला 8.18
 विषय 23.64
 विषविनाशन 13.9
 विषवृत्त 14.21
 विषहर 9.12;11.3
 विषा 3.20
 विषाण 23.129
 विषापहा 17.11,37
 विषौषधि 15.11
 विष्किर 20.28,31
 विष्ठा 23.127
 विष्णुक्रान्ता 11.37

विष्णुपदी 21.9
 विष्वक्सेना 3.22
 विसर्ग 23.214
 विसर्पिणी 17.18
 विवृतदोःपाणिमान 23.165
 विहग 20.67; 23.234
 विहङ्ग 20.67
 वीज 23.99
 वीजक 14.4, 42 fn.
 वीर 2.18; 6.27; 10.13
 वीरण 2.18 fn.
 वीरतर 2.18; 19.16
 वीरतरु 7.22; 10.44
 वीरतिक्त 13.13fn.
 वीरभुजा 18.16 fn.
 वीररजस् 6.27fn.
 वीरवृक्ष 19.16
 वीर 3.51; 14.19fn.
 वीरध्व 23. [135], 139
 वीर्य 23.196
 वुक 15.29
 वृका 10.6
 वृकाक्षी 17.31
 वृक्ष 14.43; 23.135, 136, 150, 235
 वृक्षवाटिका 22.48
 वृक्षादनी 23.250
 वृक्षाम्बु 8.22; 23.251
 वृत्त 8.13
 वृत्तपत्र 9.26
 वृद्धदारक 17.35
 वृद्धि 3.50

वृद्धिका 3.43
 वृन्त 23.152
 वृन्तक 15.28 fn.
 वृन्तजीव 18.9
 वृन्तबीज 18.9. fn.
 वृन्दजीव 18.9 fn.
 वृश्चिकाली 10.35
 वृश्चिर 9.18
 वृष 10.17; 18.22; 22.80
 वृषक 7.23
 वृषकर्णी 9.21 fn.
 वृषण 23.89
 वृषदंशक 20.52
 वृषपर्णी 9.21; 10.40
 वृषभ 22.80
 वृषभी 17.1, 7
 वृषवृक्ष 14.21 fn.
 वृषकर 18.18
 वृष्टि 23.69, 233
 वृष्णि 22.81
 वृष्यवल्ली 13.1
 वृष्या 3.49
 वेगी 17.3
 वेणी 14.2, 16
 वेणु 23.257
 वेणुज 19.7
 वेणुपत्रो 15.35
 वेण्याख्य 12.7 fn.
 वेतस 8.23 fn.; 23.34
 वेतस्वत् 23.24
 वेन्न 8.3, 23

वेद् 23.63
 वेधनिका 3.50 fn.
 वेधमुख्यक 2.20
 वेधसी 2.28
 वेला 23.212
 वेल्ल 3.9
 वेल्लन 2.13
 वेल्व 3.9fn.
 वेल्वज 2.13 fn.
 वेशन्त 21.18
 वेश्मचापल 20.68
 वेषणा 2.26
 वेष्ट 1.40
 वेष्टन 22.27
 वैक्रान्त 5.11,
 वैक्रान्तक 5 I
 वैजयन्तिका 10.32
 वैणव 19.7
 वैदूर्य 5.19, 22
 वैदेही 2.11
 वैद्य 23.3, 185, 186
 वैद्यक 23.198
 वैयाघ्र 22.72
 वैश्य 22.19
 वैश्रवणोदय 14.5
 वैश्वानर 23.38
 वोल 4.2, 25; 23.258, 278
 व्यङ्गपृष्ठ 22.78
 व्यजन 23.215
 व्यजनक 22.2, 35
 व्यञ्जन 20.73
 व्यञ्जनक 20.2

व्यतिकर 23.49
 व्यवाय 22.59
 व्याघ्र 20.52 fn.
 व्याघ्रनख 1.48
 व्याघ्रादनी 17.32 fn.
 व्याघ्री 10.19
 व्याधि 2.22
 व्याधित 23.187
 व्याम 23.164
 व्यायाम 22.3, 44
 व्याल 9.16 fn.; 20.38
 व्याहरण 22.84
 व्युषित 21.31
 व्योमन् 23.42
 व्योष 2.1, 10
 व्रज्या 22.57
 व्रणकृत् 7.22
 व्रतति 23.139
 व्रध्न 23.143
 व्रीडा 17.3, 27
 व्रीहि 19.18 fn.; 23.27, 232, 239
 व्रीही 19.18
 व्रौहेय 22.27
 शकट 22.75
 शकटाक्ष 14.43
 शकुन 20.67
 शकुलादनी 3.16 fn.; 23.253
 शकृत् 23.127
 शक्त 23.268
 शक्ति 23.236
 शक्तु 20.24

[शक्तु जा] 23.103

शक्र 23.21

शक्रधनुस् 23.75

शक्रपर्याय 3.53

शक्राशन 10.10

शङ्करप्रिय 10.42

शङ्ख 6.53

शङ्खकन्द 13.32

शङ्खनख 1.49

शङ्खनाभ 6.45

शङ्खपुष्पी 9.10

शङ्खिनी 10.37fn.; 17.19

शटी 2.19fn.

शठ 3.35; 15.17

शठी 2.19

शण 16.24

शणपुष्पिका

शतपत्न 13.21

शतपत्रा 11.10; 16.6

शतपर्वक 7 27

शतपर्वन् 9.25fn.

शतपुष्पाख्या 2.24

शतभीरु 11.12

शतमूली 7.37

शतवीर्या 16.6

शतवेधिन् 9.31

शताङ्ग 22.71

शताङ्गुल 7.14

शतावरी 7.38

शताह 2.2

शताहा 2.24

शान 16.24 fn.

शानपुष्पिका 16.24 fn.

शबरलोभ्र 3.40

शब्द 23.6, 50

शब्दग्रह 23.94

शमनस्वसृ 21.11

शमी 14.37; 23.10fn., 262

शम्पा 23.74

शम्पाक 14.11fn.

शम्बर 20.30 fn.

शम्बुक 20.37

शम्भूक 20.71

शय 23.90

शयन 22.41, 51

शयनीय 22.41

शयालु 22.54

शय्या 22.2, 41

शर 16.18; 23.240

शरखड्गक 16.9

शरद् 21.34; 23.62, 233

शरपुष्पा 16.20

शराव 23.177, 178

शरीर 23.220

शरीरास्थि 23.123

शकेरा 23.105, 210

शर्करिला 23.10

शर्माक 23.10 fn.

शर्माह 18.10

शर्वर 23.80 fn.

शर्वरी 23.80

शलेटुक 9.3 fn.

शल्ल 20.59
 शल्लती 20.59
 शल्लाट्ट 23.151
 शल्य 20.59
 शल्यक 3.64
 शल्ल 16.1
 शल्लकी 16.8
 शश 20.30
 [शश्वदुद्भव] 9.26
 शस्त्रक 6.10
 शस्य 23.20, 238
 शस्यमञ्जरी 23.150
 शाक 23.34
 शाकवोर 9.29
 शाकवृक्ष 15.7
 शाकशाकट 23.34
 शाखामृग 20.47
 शाखिन् 23.136
 शाखोटक 14.28
 शाखोटी 14.3
 शाङ्गुष्ठा 10.37
 शाण 23.170
 शाणद्वय 23.171
 शातकुम्भ 6.7
 शातकौम्भ 6.7 fn.
 शादहरित 23.33
 शाद्वल 23.33
 [शान्तनु] 12.10
 शान्ति 13.36
 शाषा 3.40
 शास्त्रमव 1.6

शारद 14.2; 18.11, 27
 शारदी 14.18
 शारिवा 17.17 fn.
 शार्कर 23.31, 105
 शार्ङ्गी 10.37 fn.
 शार्दूल 20.52 fn.
 शाल 23.137
 शालज 4.23
 शालपत्रसमा 10.24
 शालपत्री 10.19. fn.
 शालपर्णी 10.23
 शालि 19.12, 14; 23.27
 शालिञ्च 9.15
 शालिधान्य 19.2
 शालिपत्री 10.19 fn.
 शालिराज् 19.15
 शालुक 13.17 fn.
 शालुर 20.57
 शालुक 1.32; 13.2, 17
 शालुर 1.32 fn.; 20.57
 शालेय 23.27
 शाल्मल 4.4
 शाल्मली 14.41
 शाल्मलीवेष्ट 4.4
 शिशषा 14.19
 शिखण्ड 20.43
 शिखण्डिनी 10.38; 11.42
 शिखर 5.5; 21.22
 शिखरी 10.2, 30
 शिखा 15.37; 20.43; 22.31
 शिखार्पण्या (?) 22.27

शिखालम्बिन् 22.30
 शिखावत 20.41
 शिखिकण्ठक 6.24
 शिखिकुन्दु 1.47
 शिखिन् 6.46; 20.41; 23.38
 शिखी 15.37 fn.
 शिशु 9.23 fn.
 शित[सित?] 11.39
 शितशिव 23.262
 शितिसार 9.15
 शितिसारक 7.30
 शिका 23.152
 शिम्बपणिका 17.14 fn.
 शिरस् 10.33
 शिरस्त्र 22.27 fn.
 शिरस्त्राण 22.27
 शिरा 23.130
 शिरामलक 8.18
 शिराल 8.16 fn.
 शिरीष 11.33
 शिरोरत्न 22.17
 शिरोरुह 23.132
 शिरोस्थि 23.124
 शिला 6.4, 37; 21.21; 23.200
 शिलाजतु 4.11
 शिलाधातु 6.31
 शिलाभेद 16.26
 शिलोत्थ 4.11
 शिव 4.7, 16; 6.27; 14.14fn.
 शिवधान्यक 19.12
 शिवपरिच्छद 17.28 fn.
 शिवप्रिय 11.19

शिवब्रह्मी 9.10 fn.
 शिवा 3.25; 14.14; 20.48 fn.
 शिवाटिका 9.18; 15.35
 शिविका 22.70
 शिवा 9.10
 शिशिर 21.27, 34
 शिशु 23.254
 शिन्न 23.88
 शीकर 23.70
 शीघ्र 9.23fn.
 शीघ्र 23.239
 शीघ्रा 21.14
 शीत 3.38fn.; 7.10; 8.23; 18.26fn.; 21.2
 27; 23.197, 202
 शीतपाकी 3.51fn.
 शीतद्रु 14.33
 शीतल 21.17
 शीतला 3.42 fn.
 शीतद्वारी 8.15 fn.
 शीतघात 23.12
 शीतवोर्या 16.6 fn.
 शीतसर 9.15fn.
 शीर्णवृन्त 12.1, 6
 शीर्षक 23.129
 शीशक 6.2fn., 17 fr
 शीषक 6.2 fn.
 शुक्र 20.32, 46
 शुक्रनामन् 17.8 fn.
 शुक्रनासा 17.8
 शुक्रप्रिय 8.16
 शुक्रशिम्बा 17.7 fn.

शुकाख्या 17.8
 शुकाननः 17.8
 शुकास्य 17.1
 शुकास्या 17.8 fn.
 शुक्ति 5.7; 13.174
 शुक 23.115, 116.269
 शुक्रला 16.12
 शुक्र 3.40; 23.266
 शुक्रतरु 11.33
 शुक्रपक्ष 23.59
 शुक्रपुष्प 9.11; 10.45; 12.5
 शुक्रपुष्पा 15.12
 शुक्ताक्षी 3.52
 शुङ्गिन् 14.5
 शुण्ठी 2.14, 21
 शुण्डापान 23.107
 शुभग 4.15 fn.
 शुभा 4.15
 शुभाङ्गन 9.24
 शुभाञ्जन 9.24.
 शुभ्र 6.9 fn.
 शुल्व 6.9
 शुषरी 12.2 fn.
 शुचिर 1.46
 शुष्कनाशा 17.8 fn.
 शुष्कमांस 23.120
 शुक 5.8
 शुकघान्य 18.2
 शुक 20.61
 शुकशिम्बा 17.7
 शुकशिम्बी 17.7 fn.

शूरण 13.10
 शूल 23.218
 शूलाकृत 23.121
 शूल्य 23.121
 शृगाल 20.48 fn.
 शृगालघोलि 7.33
 शृगालिनी 18.21
 शृङ्ग 21.22; 23.116, 129
 शृङ्गक 3.45
 शृङ्गज 1.8
 शृङ्गवेर 13.36
 शृङ्गाट 12.1, 4
 शृङ्गार 23.278
 शृङ्गिन् 14.5 fn.
 शृङ्गी 3.1, 5, 21; 6.46, 49fn.
 शृत 23.205.
 शेखर 1.46; 22.31
 शेफस् 23.88
 शेफाली 11.22 fn.
 शेलु 7.10
 शैरियक 10.12 fn.
 शैल 4.11; 6.20; 21.20; 23.18
 शैलज 1.38
 शैलाख्य 1.38
 शैलेयक 23.262
 शैल्य 18.26
 शैव 5.8
 शैवलिनी 21.7
 शैवशुक 5.8 fn.
 शोणरत्नक 5.4
 शोणशालि 19.19
 शोणित 23.118

शोणिताह्वय 1.27
 शोथकृत् 7.21
 शोथघ्नो 9.17
 शोथहृत् 7.21fn.
 शोधित 20.75
 शोभाञ्जन 9.23
 शोलङ्ग 9.3 fn.
 शौक्तिकेय 5.6
 शौक्लिकेय 6.42
 शौण्ठी 2.11 fn.
 शौण्ड 23.108
 शौण्डी 2.11
 शौद्र 23.20
 शौरिप्रिय 5.16
 शौल्यशीत 18.26fn.
 शमश्रु 23.133
 श्याम 23.20
 श्यामल 18.8
 श्यामा 1.34
 श्यामाक 19.1,3
 श्येनाक 14.29
 श्रवण 23.94
 श्रवणा 3.37;7.4,41
 श्रवस् 23.94
 श्राणा 20.12
 श्रावणी 7.40
 श्री 22.36
 श्रीखण्ड 1.11
 श्रीपर्णी 7.11
 श्रीपिष्ट 1.40

श्रीपुष्प 3.38
 श्रीफल 7.19;23.220
 श्रीवास 1.40;23.249
 श्रीवेष्ट 1.3
 श्रीसंज्ञ 1.45
 श्रुतीक 4.14
 श्रुत 23.160
 श्रुति 23.94,129 (?)
 श्रुवा 7.34
 श्रेणि 20.21
 श्रेयसी 3.25,55,60;13.36fn.;23.252
 श्रेष्ठ 4.19
 श्रेष्ठमल्लिका 11.10
 श्रोत्र 23.94
 श्लघ्निक 4.14 fn.
 श्लेष्म (?)12.7 fn.
 श्लेष्मात 7.1
 श्लेष्मातक 7.10
 श्वदंष्ट्रा 10.27
 श्वन् 20.48
 श्वयथुहृत् 9.2
 श्वसन 3.63;23.40
 श्वाविध् 20.34,59
 श्वेत 6.8;9.16
 श्वेतकाञ्चन 11.25
 श्वेतगरुत् 20.63
 श्वेतचन्दन 1.12
 श्वेतटङ्गण 4.16
 श्वेतदूर्वा 23.248
 श्वेतपत्र 11.30
 श्वेतपर्णास 11.30

- श्वेतप्रतानन (?) 12.7 fn.
 श्वेतप्रभानन 12.7
 श्वेतप्रभानल 12.7fn.
 श्वेतबुहा 17.18
 श्वेतबृह्णा 17.18 fn.
 श्वेतमृद् 23.17
 श्वेतरत्न 5.8
 श्वेतवृक्ष 14.12
 श्वेतशिम्बु 9.23 fn.
 श्वेतशृङ्गो 6.49fn.
 श्वेता 2.31;3.20;9.18;11.34,38
 श्वेताक्ष (?) 6.26 fn.
 श्वेतार्क 6.26;11.14;23.243
 श्वेताश्वनामक 2.21
 षट्क 20.13
 षट्कोण 5.15
 षट्पद 20.49
 षड्ग्रन्था 2.30
 षड्ग्रन्थि 10.33
 षड्ग्रन्थिका 2.31
 षष्टि 19.2
 षष्टिक 19.14
 षष्टिवासरज 19.14
 षोडशक 23.175
 षोडशद्रोणी 23.183
 संवत्सर 23.62,233
 संवर्त 3.26
 संवृत् 23.117
 संवेश 22.53
 संख्या 22.15
 संस्कार 22.28
 संकटक 10.48
 संकुलादनी 3.16
 संकु 20.24
 संकु 6.44
 संक्षेप 23.212
 संख्या 23.64
 सचल 4.6
 सजम्बाल 23.33
 सज्ज 23.242
 सञ्चित्रक 22.1
 संजागर 22.3
 संज्ञा 20.243
 सतीनक 18.3 fn.
 संतीलक 18.3
 सत्त्व 23.99
 सदागति 23.41
 सदापुष्पी 11.13
 सदाभद्रा 7.12
 सनटुक 9.3,26
 सन्तति 23.217,257
 सन्धारुण 6.27
 सन्नकटु 7.15
 सपर्या 22.68
 सपुत्र 15.18
 सप्तकी 22.23
 सप्तपर्ण 14.18fn.
 सप्तपर्णी 14.18
 सप्तला 15.36
 सवरकन्दाख्य 15.13
 समज्ञा 15.22

Index of Words]

समन्तदुग्धा 15.19
समय 23.52
समा 23.62
समांशा 7.42 fn.
समांस 7.42 fn.
समांसा 7.42
समास 23.212
समिध् 23.196
समुद्र 21.6
समुद्रा ता 3.29;15.23
सम्पदाह्वया 3.49
सम्पर्क 23.49
सम्पाक 14.11
सम्पुटाङ्ग 8.19
सम्पृच् 23.49
सम्प्रदेहन् 22.5
सम्बर 20.30
सम्भाषण 22.84
सम्भृष्ट 20.75
सर 21.37;23.129
सरत्ति 23.163
सरपर्वटी 21.37
सन्धु 21.13
सरल 1.1,15;14.33
सरस् 21.16;23.223
सरसी 21.1,16
सरस्वती 21.13;23.92
सरित् 21.7
सरोरुह 13.20,22 fn.
सर्ज 4.23
सर्जरस 4.23

पर्यायमुक्तावली

१२७

सर्जि 4.14
सर्जिका 4.14
सर्प 1.25;20.58;23.112
सर्पकङ्कालिका 17.37
सर्पगन्धा 17.23
सर्पगन्धाख्या 3.56
सर्पघातिनी 17.36
सर्पदंष्ट्रा 10.34
सर्पनामन् 17.36
सर्पेसहा 17.36
सर्पाची 17.36
सर्पिस 21.43
सर्व 22.69
सर्वरस 20.21 fn.
सर्वरसा 20.21 fn.
सर्वशस्याद्या 23.30
सर्वसह 4.28
सर्षप 9.4,35
सर्षपाह्वय 6.49 fn.
सलदुक 9.30 fn.
सलिल 23.36,203
सवेतस 23.34
सशल्या 15.11
सशाक 23.34
ससर्पोक्षि 17.3
सस्मित 23.149
सहकार 8.6
सहचर 10.12,13;23.240
सहदेवा 16.11
सहसवीर्य 16.5
सहसवेधिन् 9.31

- सहा 10.22fn.; 13.1, 5; 16.1, 11; 17.1
 सहाय 23.189
 साक्षरा 22.22
 सागर 21.6
 सागासीमन् 23.212
 साङ्गुठा 10.37fn.
 सातला 15.36
 साधारण 22.49; 23.9, 15
 साधारणा 23.15
 साधितान्न 20.1, 27
 साध्वी 6.32
 सानु 21.22; 23.244
 सान्द्र 23.222
 सामर्थ्य 23.236
 समुद्र 4.7; 21.26
 सार 21.42; 23.125, 153, 154, 190, 195
 सारक 15.15
 सारज 4.2
 सारमेज 20.48
 सारल 1.40
 सारस 20.36, 65
 सारप 23.100
 सालज 4.2
 सालि 19.12 fn.
 सालिञ्च 19.15fn.
 सिंह 20.30, 50
 सिंहपुच्छी 17.12
 सिहाण 6.13 fn.
 सिहान 6.13
 सिहास्य 10.17
 सिही 10.20, 21
 सिकता 9.3, 27
 सिकतायुक्त 23.31
 सिकथक 23.259
 सिन्धु 9.23
 सित 2.3; 3.38; 10.50; 15.40; 18.8, 26
 सितद्रु 14.33 fn.
 सितपर्णी 15.33 fn.
 सितपाकी 3.51
 सितवर्या 16.6fn.
 सितवल्ली 8.15
 सितवल्ली 15.33 fn.
 सितशरस् 14.37
 सितशिवा 14.37fn.
 सितशूक 18.24
 सितसार 9.15 fn.
 सित्ता 2.30; 3.13, 42; 11.22fn.; 16.6; 18.8
 सितभ्रक 1.5
 सिताम्बुज 13.21
 सितारमन् 5.14
 सितहय 9.23 fn.
 सितोपल 23.210
 सिद्ध 23.19
 सिद्धान्न 20.13
 सिद्धाम्बु 23.279
 सिद्धार्थ 9.36
 सिद्धि 3.50 fn.
 सिन्दुवारक 15.8
 सिन्दुर 6.3, 27
 सिन्धु 21.14

- सिन्धुसम्भव 4.16
 सिन्धूद्भव 4.5
 सिप्रा 21.14fn.
 सिम्बपर्णी 17.14
 सिंहली 3.42
 सिंहक 1.36
 सीत्य 23.23
 सीधु 23.106
 सःसक 6.2,14;23.227
 सीहली 3.42fn.
 सुकुमार 18.9
 सुखवर्चक 4.14fn.
 सुखवर्चस 4.14fn.
 सुखवास 12.6
 सुगन्ध 2.4;14.40;16.2,15
 सुगन्धा 3.56;8.10;11.7;17.17
 सुगन्धि 1.21;21.33;23.44,83
 सुगन्धिक 11.29
 सुचित्राणी 3.11 fn.
 सुतीक्ष्ण 9.23 fn.
 सुद 20.73
 सुदर्शना 9.21
 सुधा 15.2,19
 सुनन्दा 17.1,11
 सुनिषण्णक 9.8
 [सुनीला] 18.17
 सुपत्री 16.8
 सुपुत्र 15.18 fn.
 सुप्ति 23.242
 सुफल 8.30
 सुभग 1.38;4.15
 सुभद्रा 17.16
 सुभद्राणी 3.11
 सुभिन्ना 11.18
 सुमङ्गल 6.45
 सुमन 18.22
 सुमनःपत्रिका 1.44
 सुमनःफल 1.32
 सुमन्स् 11.5;23.146
 सुरक 6.30;13.25
 सुरङ्ग 8.9
 सुरङ्गी 9.24
 सुरदाह 1.17
 सुरदीपिका 21.8
 सुरनिमगा 21.9
 सुरपुत्राग 11.23
 सुरप्रिया 11.5 fn.
 सुरभि 23.44
 सुरभिक्षवा 16.8
 सुरभी 10.3,41
 सुरवर्त्मन् 23.43
 सुरसा 3.57fn.;10.3fn.,41
 सुरसाधन 9.35fn.
 सुरसी 10.41 fn.
 सुरहा 3.55fn.,57fn.
 सुरा 23.101,102,230
 सुराङ्ग 18.12
 सुराह 1.17
 सुरोत्तमा 3.50 fn.
 सुवर्ण 6.6
 सुवर्णक 14.11;23.172
 सुवर्णगौरिक 6.30

सुवर्णा 3.34	सूर्यावर्त 10.50
सुवर्णाङ्ग 1.25 fn.	सृति 22.56
सुवर्णाह 1.25	सेफाली 11.22
सुवहा 11.2, 22; 17.19, 31	सेलु 7.10fn.
सुशक्या 17.8 fn.	सेवक 23.189
सुशीत 1.13; 15.40	सेवती 11.1
सुशीतल 12.6 fn. ; 16.15	सेव्य 2.17; 23.226
सुषवी 2.6; 12.2, 18	सेहुण्ड 6.48
सुषोम 21.27	सैकत 23.31
सुसंख्या 17.8	सैकतकूप 21.17
सुसंस्कृत 20.74	सैन्धव 23.262
सुस्वरा 9.9	सैन्धवकफ 4.21
सूक 5.8 fn.	सैरिम 20.62
सूक्ष्म 23.220	सैरियक 10.12 fn.
सूक्ष्मफला 13.14	सैरो 6.50
सूक्ष्मशालि 19.20	सैरीयक 10.12
सूक्ष्मैला 1.24; 23.246	सोम 20. 10 fn.
सूचिपुष्प 11.16	सोमगन्धाख्य 3.7 fn.
सूची 11.2	सोममणि 5.14
सूक्ष्मप्र 16.14	सोमयोनि 1.12
सूत 6.5	सोमराजी 4.12
सूतकागार 23.255	सोमवल्कक 13.28
सूदसाधन 9.35	सोमवल्कल 4.19
सूप 20.73; 23.215	सोमवल्काख्य 7.3
सूरसाधन 9.35 fn.	सोमसंज्ञ 1.5
सूर्प 23.182	सोमाख्य 13.25
सूर्यपणी 17.15	सोमोद्भवा 21.12
सूर्यकान्त 5.2, 13	सोलङ्ग 8.31 fn.
सूर्यतनया 21.11	सोलङ्गक 8.3
सूर्यमिया 23.76	सोमवैकृत 21.28
सूर्यवल्ली 15.33	सौगन्धिक 13.18
	सौदामिनी 23.74

सौध 22.2,40
 सौरभेय 22.80
 सौराष्ट्रक 6.15fn.
 सौराष्ट्रक 6.15,22.
 सौराष्ट्री 6.33
 सौवर्चल 4.9;23.272,276
 सौवीर 6.19;8.26;20.9;23.261
 सौवीरक 6.22
 सौश्रुत (माष) 23.169
 स्तनयित्नु 23.72
 स्तन्य 21.36
 स्तन्या 9.25
 स्तवकशालिनी 13.5
 स्तोका 8.25 fn.
 स्त्री 23.256
 स्त्रीकटी 22.23
 स्त्रीकुसुम 23.217
 स्त्रीसेवा 22.4
 स्थाती 23.192
 स्थावर 6.43;23.110,134
 स्थावरप्रभव 23.141
 स्थावरप्रयोजन 23.155
 स्थास्तु 23.110
 स्थिरच्छद 14.14
 स्थिरा 10.24
 स्थूलक 16.14
 स्थूलकम्बु 19.5
 स्थूलतण्डुल 19.15
 स्थूलपुष्प 11.19
 स्थूलमञ्जरी 10.29
 स्थूलशालि 19.15

स्थूलशिम्बी 18.6
 स्थूला 1.23
 स्थौणेय 1.1
 स्थौणेयक 1.16
 स्नान 22.1,6
 स्नायु 23.116,130
 स्निग्धतण्डुल 19.14
 स्नु 21.22
 स्नुक्छद 15.13,14 fn.
 स्नुह् 15.19
 स्नुही 15.19
 स्नेह 23.99,195
 स्नेहगर्भ 18.14
 स्नेहन 23.6
 स्पर्श 23.6
 स्पर्शन 23.49
 स्पृक्षा 1.43
 स्पृशी 10.19
 स्पृष्ट 23.49
 स्पृष्टी 10.19fn.
 स्फटिक 5.1,8;6.53;23.224
 स्फुट 23.149
 स्फुटवल्कला 9.13
 स्फूर्जथु 23.73
 स्फूर्जक 7.30
 स्मित 22.85
 स्यन्दन 15.34;22.71,73
 सल् 22.29
 सुगन्ध 7.2,18
 सुपा 7.3,34

स्रोतस् 6.19
 स्रोतोऽस्त्र 6.21
 स्वगुप्ता 17.6
 स्वन 23.50
 स्वपनकुत् 9.1
 स्वप्न 22.3, 53; 23.242
 स्वप्न 22.54
 स्वर 21.5
 स्वर 23.47, 197, 199, 204
 स्वरूप 23.48
 स्वर्ग 21.5
 स्वर्जिका 4.12
 स्वर्ण 6.6; 23.19, 273
 स्वर्णक्षीरी 15.31
 स्वर्णगैरिक 6.30
 स्वर्णदी 21.8
 स्वर्णहय 6.40
 स्वल्पपत्रक 7.29
 स्वल्पशीत 18.26 fn.
 स्वादाद्य 7.14
 स्वादु 23.81, 82
 स्वादुकण्ट 7.18
 स्वादुकण्टक 10.27
 स्वादुकन्द 13.29
 स्वाद्वी 7.5
 स्वान 23.51
 स्वान्त 23.94
 स्वाप 22.53
 स्वेदज 23.111, 113
 स्वेदनी 22.38
 हंस 28.36, 63; 21.2; 23.13
 हंसपादी 10.47, 79

हंसपादी 10.47
 हंसोदक 21.30
 हठ 16.23
 हठा 16.23 fn.
 हय 22.77
 हयन 22.74
 हयगन्धा 15.25
 हरबीज 6.5
 हरि 20.50
 हरिचन्दन 1.13; 23.249
 हरिण 20.39
 हरित 6.47; 154.39; 18.25; 19.9
 हरिद्रा 13.11
 हरिद्रु 3.31
 हरिनामन् 18.11 fn.
 हरिन्माण 5.18
 हरिन्मुद्ग 118.11
 हरिपर्ण 13.35
 हरिप्रय 1.14; 19.3 fn.
 हरिमन्थ 18.4
 हरिवालुक 1.21
 हरीतकी 3.23, 25
 हरेण 3.8; 8.1, 3
 हयैक्ष 20.50
 हर्ष 22.85
 हलधृक्प्रय 11.21
 हलिनी 6.50
 हलीन 11.16; 15.7
 हलीनक 15.1
 हव (?) 19.9
 हविर्मन्थ 14.6

हविस् 21.43

हवुषा 14.23 fn.

हव्यवाह 23.39

हस 22.85

हसनी 22.2,37

हसनी 22.37

हसित 23.149

हस्त 23.90fn.,162

हस्तक 15.30

हस्ताङ्ग ली (?) 23.93

हस्तिक 17.28 fn

हस्तिकन्द 13.33fn.

हस्तिकर्णदल 14.38

हस्तिकर्णी 14.34 fn.

हस्तिकोत्रि 17.28

हस्तिन् 22.76

हस्तिपर्णी 14.34

हस्तिपाद् 13.30

हस्तिपिप्पली 3.60

ह टक 6.6

हाफु 4.3

हाथन 23.62,232

हार 22.19

हारिद्र 6.47,49fn.

हाला 14.22;23.101

हालाहल 6.49fn.

हास 22.85

हास्य 22.63,85

हासा 14.22;23.130

हिल्ली 14.22 fn.

हिङ्गु 4.2,24

हिङ्गु निर्यास 14.9

हिङ्गुपर्णी 15.35

हिङ्गुल 6.3,18

हिङ्गुली 12.11

हिङ्गुल 14.15

हिण्डर 4.21 fn.

हिण्डोर 4.21

हिन्ताल 23.12

हिम 21.27,32;23.68

हिमजा 2.19;9.30

हिमवालुका 1.6

हिमानिलनिवारण 22.14

हिरण्य 6.6

हिलमुची 9.4

हिलमोची 9.34

होरक 5.15;23.231

होलमुची 9.34

हुडुपी 14.23 fn.

हुतभुज् 23.39

हृद् 23.97,228

हृदय 23.97,228

हृद्यगन्ध 2.4

हेडम्बा 14.23 fn.

हेमचोरी 15.31

हेमगन्धिनी 3.8

हेमदुग्ध 14.21

हेमन् 6.1,6;11.2;14.1;15.2

हेमन्त 21.34

हेमपुष्प 14.21fn.

हेमपुष्पक 11.6

हेमपुष्पिका 11.6 fn.

हेममित्र 4.16

हेमशिखा 15.32

हेमाद्रिजा 15.32

हेम 21.3

हेमन 18.7

हेमवती 2.30;3.25;18.17

हेमा 11.12 fn.

हेयङ्गवीनक 21.42

होमधान्यक 18.14

हस्तन 21.31

हृद 21.15

ह्रस्वकन्द 13.33

ह्रस्वगर्भ 16.31 fn.

ह्रस्वगर्भधुका 3.58

ह्रस्ववृक्ष 16.31

ह्रस्वाङ्ग 3.45

ह्रीवेर 11.26

Addenda and Corrigenda.

1. 27, *read* बाह्यीकं *for* बाह्यीकं; 2. 4, सुगन्धञ्च *for* सुगन्धञ्च; 3.35, जिह्वं *for* जिह्वं; 3. 47fn., ¹⁵ A. देवमणि *for* ¹⁵ देवमणि; 4.1, -ब्धिफेनैः *for* -ब्धिफेनैः; 4.4, -स्तथा *for* स्तथा; 4. 13, put a stop (I) between यवाग्रजः and यवचारः; 5.19, *read* वैदुर्य *for* वैदुर्य; 6.18, मरालाङ्घ्रि *for* मरालाङ्घ्रि; 6.25, दाविका *for* दाविका; 7.44, सप्तविंशति *for* -विंशति; 7.39 fn., गोक्षीरी *for* गोक्षरी; 8.14, महाजम्बु *for* -जम्बु; 8.20, -म्बुष्टा *for* -म्बुष्टा; 8.23 fn.²⁷, -भ्रपुष्प. *for* भ्रपुष्प; 8.25, परुषं *for* परुषं; 8. Colophon, -वर्गो-*for* -वर्गी-; 9.30 fn.²⁴, ग्राम्या *for* ग्राम्या; 10.5, अम्बुष्टा-*for* अम्बुष्टा-; 11.17, वार्षिकः *for* वार्षिकः; 12.10, कर्कोटो *for* कर्कोटो; 13.12, वणिनी *for* वणिनी; 13.17, पद्म¹⁷मूलकम् *for* पद्म¹⁷ मूलकम्; 13. 18fn.¹⁸, पुष्करं *for* पुष्करं; 14.5fn., -च्छृ-*for* -च्छृ-; 14.9, हिङ्गु-*for* हिङ्गु-; 14.18, सप्तपर्णी *for* सप्त पर्णी; 14.21, विषवृक्ष- *for* -वृक्ष-; 14. 21 fn.²¹, ब्रह्म-*for* ब्रह्म-; 14. 31, कणिकरः *for* कणिकारः; 15.2, -ब्राह्मी *for* ब्राह्मी; 15.21, स्याद् *for* स्याज्; 16.17, [] *for* [:]; 16.30, कुक्कुटिः *for* कुक्कुटिः; 17.10, -वत्तिनी- *for* -वत्तिनी; 17.15, सूर्प- *for* -सूर्प-; 17.18, विसर्पिणी- *for* -विसर्पिणी; 17.5 fn.⁷, -ल्ल्यहिपर्येपि- *for* -पर्येपि; 17.22 fn.²⁰, ऋषिकं *for* ऋषिकं; 18. 24, किपाकः *for* किपाकः; page 32, line 2 from bottom, *read* ³¹Mss. सारवः *as* fn. to शारदः; 18. 27, 19 21, -विशत्या *for* विशत्या; 20.22, पूर्वाग्रे *for* पूर्वाग्रः; 20. 31, वत्तिका *for* वत्तिका; 20.40, बहिणो *for* बहिणो; 20.44, कुलुङ्गा *for* कुलुङ्गा; 20.52, बिडालो *for* बिडालो; 20.68, कुलिङ्गः *for* कुलिङ्गः; 20.75, शोधितव्यञ्जनं *for* शाधित-; 20.77, -तैल-*for* तैला-; 21.8 & 18, दीधिका *for* दीधिका; p. 37, l.3 from bottom, प्रत्यासन्न- *for* प्रत्यासन्न-; 21.20, गोत्रो *for* गात्रो; 22.3, व्यायामो- *for* व्यायामो-; 22.5, सम्प्रदेहनम् *for* सम्प्र देहनम्; 22.24, मञ्जीरो *for* मञ्जीरा; 22.27, शिरस्ताणं शिखा *for* -स्ताणं शाखा; 22.54, निद्रालु-*for* निद्रालु-; 22.70, प्रेङ्गा-*for* प्रङ्गा-; 22.81, मेढो- *for* मेढो-; 23.40, मारुतः *for* मारुतो; p. 44, l. 5 from bottom, ²F. स्पष्टं *for* F. स्पष्टं; 23.89, मदनाङ्कुशः *for* -ङ्कुशः; 23. 138, रम्भेत्तु-*for* रम्भेक्ष-; 23.167 & 168, कीर्ति- *for* -कीर्ति-; 23.173, बिडाल *for* बिडाल-; 23.194fn.¹⁴, -त्तयु-*for* -त्तय-; 23. 224, लिङ्गं *for* लिङ्गं; 23. 256, पौरे *for* पौरे; 23. 284, तत्तद् *for* तत्तद्; p. 55, अङ्कुर *for* अङ्कुर; p. 56, अङ्गुलीयक

for अङ्गलियक; p. 60, आखुपणिका for-पणिका; p. 63, उपसंन्यान; for उपसंन्यान
 p. 67, कर्ष for कर्ष; p. 70, कासघ्नी for कासघ्नी; p. 72, कुस्तुम्बुरु for कुस्तुम्बुरु;
 p. 75, खर्पर for खपर; p. 76, गम्भारी for गम्भारी & गद्धभाण्ड for गद्धभाण्ड;
 p. 77, गृहद्रुम for गहद्रुम; p. 79, ग्रन्थिक 1.16; 2.25 etc. for ... 2.5 etc;
 p. 80, चतुर्विंशङ्गुल for चतुर्विंश-; p. 83, तनूरुह for तनुरह; p. 84, तर्किल for तर्किल
 & तर्दू for तर्दू; p. 86, तेजोमन्थ for-मन्थ; p. 88, दाविका for दाविका and दीविका
 for दीविका; p. 92, निश्ट्रा for निशिट्रा and निष्प्रवाणि for निष्प्रवाण; p. 93,
 नीलार्क for नीलाक and पञ्चमूल for -मुल.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX

ARTICLES

PAGE.

Annual Review of the Bihar Research Society 1945-46 By the Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali, Kt.	1
Bharata's Nāṭya-Sāstra, Chapter II, Maṇḍapavidhāna. By Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.)	113
Bihar in the Time of Aurangzeb. By Khan Sahib S. H. Askari, M. A., B. L., Patna College	56, 155
Extracts from Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India. By Brij-Narain and Sri Ram Sharma	197
Indian Culture in Central Asia. By Dr. P. C. Bagehi, M. A., Dr. es lettres, Santiniketan.	9
India's Cultural Contacts. By Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.)	
Kaliyugarājavarṣṭānta and Bhaviṣhyottara-purāṇa. By D. R. Mankad, Sanskrit Association, Karachi	319
Kapilendra Gajapati. By P. Mukerjee, M. A., Rajendra College, Bolangir, Patna State	52
Labour in Early Nineteenth Century, Bihar. By Hari Ranjan Ghosal, M. A., B. L., D. Litt., G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur	98
(The) Later Mauryas and the Fall of the Empire. By Budha Prakash, M. A., Meerut	73
Price Changes and Price Control in India during the last Two Hundred years. By Dr. H. R. Ghosal, M. A., B. L., D. Litt., G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur	297
Purushottama Gajapati. By P. Mukerjee, M. A., Rajendra College, Bolangir, Patna State	398
Research Notes and Queries. The Pāṇḍavas. By Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.)	328

Review of :—

The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India. By A. B. M. Habibullah, M. A., Ph. D., (London), F.L. A., Department of Islamic History and Culture, Calcutta University. Published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, pp. 345, XI, 1945. Price Rs. 15. By Prof. Jagadish Narain Sarkar, M. A., Patna College	189
The Vaishnavopaniṣads translated into English by Sri T. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar, B. A., L. T. and edited by G. Srinivasa Murthi ; pp. xxi, 498.	

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- Kenopanishad-Bhāshya by Sri Rangaramanuja, critically edited with English Introduction, translation and Notes By Dr. K. C. Varadachari. M. A., Ph. D. and D. T. Tatacharya, Shiromani, M. O. L., (Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Series). Tirupati, Madras, (pp. x 22, 18, Price Rs. 2), 1945. 191
- Suvarnasaptati-Sāstra, Sāṅkhya-Kārikā-Saptati of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa, with a commentary, Reconstructed into Sanskrit from the Chinese of Paramartha and edited with English notes, Introduction and Appendices by N. Aiyaswami Sastri, Reader in Sanskrit, Sri Venkateshwara Oriental Institute, Tirupati (Member, Sino Indian Cultural Society, India), with a Foreword by Prof. P. P. Subrahmanya Sastri, B. A. (Oxon.), M. A. (Madras), pp. xlvii 112 ; published by Tirumalai-Tirupati, Devasthanam Press, Tirupati, 1944, Price Rs. 6. 192
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- Folk-Songs of Chattisgarh by Dr. Verrier Elwin (O. U. P., 1946), Price Rs. 15, pp. i-lxi 466. By Dr. S. C. Sarkar, D. Phil. (Oxon.), Patna 334
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Santal Folk-Songs. By Suniti Kumar Sinha, M. A.	184
Some Aspects of Rāmānuja's Philosophy on the Basis of his Commentary on the Bhagavadgītā. By Dr. Iswara Datta, Ph. D., Patna College	135
Suryavamsi Kings of Orissa—Purushottamadeva. By G. Ramadas, B. A., Jeypore	21
Swiss Companies and Captain Polier in the Military Service of the East India Company. By Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M. A., Ph. D., P. R. S.	331
Was Anantadevi Mother of Skandagupta? By Tarapada Bhattacharya, M. A., B. N. College, Patna	182

AUTHORS WITH THEIR CONTRIBUTORS.

	PAGE.
Ali, The Hon'ble the Chief Justice Sir Saiyid Fazl, Kt, "Annual Review of the Bihar Research Society 1945-46	1
Askari, Khan Sahib S. H., M. A., B. L., Patna College—Bihar in the Time of Aurangzeb	56-155
Bagchi, P. C., Dr. es lettres, Santiniketan—Indian Culture in Central Asia	9
Bhattacharya, Tarapada, M. A., B. N. College, Patna—Was Ananta devi Mother of Skandagupta ?	182
Brijnarrain and Sri Ram, Sharma—Extracts from Contemporary Dutch Chronicles of Mughal India	197
Chowdhury, Dr. T. P., M. A., Ph. D.—Appendix-Index to Paryayamuktavali	55-134
Review of :—	
1. Candralakhā of Rudradāsa. Edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, M. A., D. Litt., Bharatiya Vidya Series ; No. 6, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Bombay, 1945. Price Rs. 6, pp. 66, 95	344
2. Rasaratnapradīpikā of Allarāja. Edited by R. N. Dandekar, M. A., Ph. D., Bharatiya Vidya Series: No. 8, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1945. Price Rs. 2-12-0 Pp. 24, 58.	344
3. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Library. Mysore. By H. R. Rangaswami Iyengar, M. A., and Vidvan T. T. Srinivasagopalachar. Vol. II—Dharmasastra (Smṛtis), Mysore: 1944. Price Rs. 1-4-0 pp. IX, 216	345
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Datta, Prof. Dharendra Mohan, M. A., Ph. D., P. R. S., Patna College:—	
Review of :—	
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Datta, Kalikinkar, M. A., Ph. D., P. R. S. — Review of :— Indian Constitutional Documents : Vol. I (1757—1858), Vol. II (1858—1945). Edited by Anil Chandra Banerjee, M. A., P. R. S., Lecturer, Calcutta University. Published by A. Mukerjee and Co., 2, College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 7 and Rs. 12 respectively.	194
Swiss Companies and Captain Polier in the Military Service of the East India Company	331
Datta, Dr. Iswara, Ph. D., Patna College.— Some Aspects of Rāmānuja's Philosophy on the basis of His Commentary on the Bhagavadgītā	135
Ghoshal, Hari Ranjan, M. A., B. L., D. Litt., Cs. B.B. College, Muzaffarpur. 1. Labour in Early Nineteenth Century, Bihar	91
2. Price Changes and Price Control in India During the last Two Hundred Years	297
Mankad, D. R., Sanskrit Association, Karachi.— Kaliyugarajavṛttānta and Shavishyottarapurāṇa	319
Mukerjee, P., M. A., Rajendra College, Bolangir, Patna State.— Purushottama Gajapati	309
Kapilendra Gajapati	52
Prakash, Budha M. A., Meerut.— The Later Mauryas and the Fall of the Empire	73
Ramadas, G., B. A., Jeypore.— Suryavamsi Kings of Orissa Purushottamadeva	21
Sarkar, S. C., M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.).— Bharata's Nāṭya-Sāstra, Chapter II, Mandapavidhana	113
India's Cultural Contacts	7
Research Notes and Queries—The Pāṇḍavas	328

	PAGE.
Folk-Songs of Chattisgarh. by Dr. Verrier Elwin (O. U. P., 1946). Price Rs. 15; pp. i-lxi 466.	334
Sarkar, S. S., Calcutta.—	
The Warlis by K. J. Save, Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay, 1945 ..	340
The Pardhans by Shamrao Hivale, published for Man in India by .. Oxford University Press, Bombay. 1946; pp. I-XVI 230, XII plates. ..	342
Sinha, Suniti Kumar, M. A.—	
Santal Folk-Songs	184
<i>Notes of the Quarter.</i>	
Annual Report for 1945-46	106
Proceedings of Annual General Meeting of the Bihar Research Society, held on 23-3-1946.	109
Proceedings of the Meeting of the Council.	111, 347
Annual Accounts for the year 1945-46	352
<i>Appendix.</i>	
Index to Paryāya Muktāvalī	55-134